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The

Great Governing Families

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THE

GREAT GOVERNING FAMILIES

OF

ENGLAND

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BY

JOHN LANGTON SANFORD

AND

MEREDITH TOWNSEND

WW-a-28

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
MDCCCLXV

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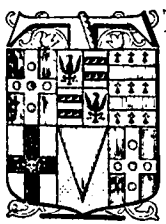
THE

GREAT GOVERNING FAMILIES

OF

ENGLAND.

The Grenvilles.



THE Grenvilles are country squires, who for five hundred years vegetated on slowly increasing estates in Buckinghamshire, then acquired almost by accident an earldom, then gave a connection, one William Pitt, a heavy annuity; turned politicians; exhibited singular capacity for that profession,—which they worked like a profession, caring for themselves as well as the country,—and rose in two generations to the very top of English society. From country gentlemen they became earls at a step, and then marquesses and dukes; but, unlike most men who have achieved this kind of advancement, they really were gentlemen. Their pedigree has been complicated by the inven-

tions of the peerage-makers, who will have it that they can prove a descent for them direct from Rollo, and by the claim of the Granvilles of the West,—Earls of Bath and Marquesses of Lansdowne,—to be an elder branch of the same house; but they have an undoubted historic pedigree, a family tree which can be proved, as well as delineated, up to Edward I. They are not quite the people heralds make out; but they are of old and pure Norman strain, men whose fathers served the Edwards, fought at Agincourt, and commanded ships under Elizabeth's piratical admirals.

There was a Gerard de Grenville in the time of Henry II., who held three knights' fees, or 4020 acres, worth about £420 a-year, under Walter Giffard, Earl of Buckinghamshire; but there is no proof of connection between him and the founder of the existing house, who, if a descendant, must, from his position, have been, or come of a younger son. Sir Eustace de Grenville must at present stand at the top of the Duke of Buckingham's true pedigree. Sir Eustace had a grant in 1273 from Hugh de la Wichead, of his whole right to a virgate of land, with messuage, croft, and meadow, in Wotton (Underwoods, Buckinghamshire), and Hame-juxta-Brehul, which William de Hame, his brother, held of the said Sir Eustace, and the deed is dated at Wotton on St Nicholas's Day. Wotton is still the second seat of the Dukes of Buckingham. Again, among the pleas of 2d and 3d Edward I., in Michaelmas Term, it is recorded that Eustace de Grenville impleaded William Coly and many others, for having come to his house at Wotton, and taken away his chattels to the

value of five marks. And they answered that the said Eustace seized certain cattle of William de Shobington, who made complaint to the bailiffs of the Earl of Gloucester in Crendon, within whose lordship his land at Wotton is, and they considered them as the cattle of the said bailiff. And Eustace said that his land aforesaid in Wotton was within the liberty of William de Valence, and not within the liberty of the Earl of Gloucester. This seems confirmed by a document of the 52d Henry III., in which William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, acknowledges the receipt of two marks for *one knight's fee*, which Eustace de Grenville held of him in Wotton. This would make Sir Eustace's estate in Wotton at least 1340 acres, or about £140 per annum, besides land at Chilton, in the same county. Sir Eustace gave by a charter one-half of his estate in Wotton to his second son Richard, with the consent of Gerard, whom he calls his son and heir, and denominates as "of Chilton." We forbear from quoting from undated deeds cited by Collins, because among the Grenvilles of the same name in different generations, it is impossible to decide to whom they refer. On the 17th of April 1294, however, it appears that Richard de Grenville accepted an annual payment of £10 rent to excuse the homage of William de Olive, for lands held of him in Wotton, and in 1302 his name occurs with that of Joane, his wife, daughter of William Lord Zouch, of Harringworth. By deed, in 1309, he granted lands in Wotton to his son William, and in 1330 settled his manor of Wotton, after his own decease, on William, his son and heir, and the heirs of his body, with remainder to Edmund, brother of the said William,

and the heirs of his body, and in default of these, on Margery, Nicholea, and Agnes, his (Richard Grenville's) daughters. Joane, Richard Grenville's wife, was in her widowhood in 1334, and William de Grenville, his son and successor, is styled in 1337 "Lord of Wotton." He married Agnes, daughter of William Wightham, of Hoddenham, and in 1343 obtained a licence from the Bishop of Lincoln to found a chantry in the church of Wotton. In 1351 a strange mishap occurred in his family. In that year, Thomas Freysel and William Freysel, with others unknown, were charged with having forcibly carried away Agnes de Grenville (called in the record "Lady of Wotton"), conveying her naked into Bernwood Forest, and there and in divers places in the county of Bucks, unlawfully imprisoning her. But whether they violated her was unknown. For these offences Thomas Freysel was fined ten marks, and William five. The Freysels appear to have been neighbours of the Grenvilles of Wotton. In 1358 William Freysel appears as a purchaser of land in Wotton, and in 1365 there was a fine of the manor of Wotton passed between Agnes de Grenville and Walter Freysel and Margaret his wife. In the same year Agnes de Grenville and her son Thomas (and their heirs) acquired from Richard Smith, of Ashendon, all his arable land in Wotton called Great Burwell, with certain meadows and pastures, with remainder to William, another son of Agnes, and his heirs for ever. In 1380, or 1381, the manor of Wotton was settled by her son on Agnes de Grenville for life; but in 1389 resumed by Thomas, who settled on his mother instead £40 per annum. We may, therefore, trust that the lady had a more tranquil ter-

mination to a widowhood which commenced in so unfortunate a manner. Thomas de Grenville died in 1402, and Richard, his son and successor, made his will in London in 1419, before going to the wars with Henry V. He bequeaths to his wife Christian all his lands and tenements in Wotton, with remainder to his children by her, and in default to his own right heirs for ever. His lands in Hoddenham he leaves in fee to Eustace his son. He gives his wife all his personal estate, and charges her to do for his son what she would desire him likewise to do for hers. To each of his two executors he leaves a legacy of £5. He died before the 1st of June 1427, but his widow Christian was alive in 1453, and by her will (in Latin) gives a legacy to her daughter Agnes, and the residue of her chattels to her son John. The eldest son, Eustace de Grenville, was among the chief gentry of Buckinghamshire who took an oath to observe the laws made in 1433 in Parliament. He was twice married, outlived his second wife, and died in 1480, having the year before made his will at Wotton, bequeathing to his son Richard £10, to his son Eustace £6, his estate at Hoddenham, and lands there for life. The residue of his personal property he leaves in trust, to be disposed of for the good of his soul. Richard de Grenville succeeded to the family property at Wotton, and exchanged the manor of Ascot, in Oxfordshire, with Robert Dormer, Esq., for Burwell's Manor, in Wotton, which Robert Dormer had purchased, and which was part of the Grenville family estates that had passed away as the marriage-portion of Alice de Grenville, daughter of Sir Eustace. Richard de Grenville (or, as the family began now to be called, "Grenville" simply) died the

8th of October 1517, having made his will the same day, by which he bequeaths each of his daughters £80 as a marriage-portion; to his younger son George his house at Chipping-Wycombe, called the George, and all his lands in Berkshire, with reversion of rents in Stoke-Talmage, in Oxfordshire, after the decease of his brother Eustace, the tenant for life, to the said George and the heirs of his body, and in default to his other son Edward and the heirs of his body, remainder to his own right heirs. He leaves the residue of his effects to Joane his wife and Edward his son, to be disposed of for the health of his soul. By the inquisition after his death it appears he died possessed, besides the above property, of an estate at Chelmescote, near Brailes, in Warwickshire. This Edward Grenville was in 1527 Sheriff of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire. By his will, dated the 2d of March 1536, he leaves annuities to his younger sons, Richard, George, and Ralph, until they come of age, and directs part of his property to be allowed to accumulate for their benefit till they attain to the age of twenty-three. He died on the 14th of April in the same year, leaving his son and heir Edward twelve years of age. Edward the younger married and had a child, who died in infancy; and on his own death, October 31, 1587, the family estates at Wotton, &c., passed to his next brother, Richard, then about thirty-five years of age. Richard had several children, and died November 7, 1604. His eldest son, Edward, had died before him, unmarried, at Carthagena, having commanded the Swallow, pinnace, and afterwards the Thomas, bark, under Sir Francis Drake; and he was succeeded by his next son, Richard Grenville, who died in 1618, leaving four sons, the eldest

of whom, Richard, born August 8, 1612, succeeded his father in the family estates. In 1641 he was Sheriff of Buckinghamshire, and in 1642 one of the Deputy-Lieutenants of the county, along with John Hampden, Arthur Goodwin, and Bulstrode Whitelocke. He warmly espoused the Parliament's cause, being essentially country gentleman, and commanded a troop of horse in the Parliamentary army in 1643 and 1644. In 1646 he was one of the Justices of the Peace for the county under the same authority, together with Edward Grenville, his younger brother. He also sat for the county in the Protectoral Parliaments of 1654, 1656, and 1658, and was succeeded in January 1666 by his son Richard, who was sheriff of the county in 1671. He married a daughter of Sir Peter Temple, of Stanton-Berry, Buckinghamshire, and had by her a son and three daughters, the youngest of whom, Penelope, married Sir John Conway, and was celebrated in the poems of Granville, Lord Lansdowne, for her beauty and accomplishments. Richard Grenville was succeeded by his son Richard, who purchased estates, sat for Windsor and Bucks, and crowned the slow-growing fortunes of his family by a marriage with Hester, daughter of Sir Richard Temple, of STOWE, near Buckingham.

The Temple family, remarkable for several eminent men, was certainly one of the older English families. Their pedigree-makers go so far as to claim for them a lineal descent from Leofric, Earl of Chester or Leicester, in the time of King Ethelbald, 716. They give as the origin of their name "Temple," in Leicestershire, where there was a family of that name. It is sufficient for our purpose that in the reign of Ed-

ward VI. a Peter Temple was the owner of Stowe, married Millicent, daughter of William Jekyll, of Newington, Middlesex, and had by her two sons, from the elder of whom, John, descended the heiress who made the fortunes of the Grenvilles; and from the younger, Anthony, descended Sir John Temple (Master of the Rolls, Commissioner of the Great Seal, and Commissioner of Government in Ireland during the reign of Charles I., the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate), the celebrated Sir William Temple, and the Viscounts Palmerston, of whom the present Premier is the most distinguished representative. Sir Peter Temple, second baronet, the descendant of John, the elder son of Peter Temple, of Stowe, was the High Sheriff of Bucks, to whom the Ship-money Writ was addressed which John Hampden resisted, and Sir Peter himself got into trouble with the King for not enforcing arrears. He represented Buckingham in the two last Parliaments of Charles, was an ardent adherent of the Puritan party, and was nominated one of the judges to try the King, but never sat. By his second wife, Christian, sister of Sir Richard Leveson, of Trentham, he had a son, Richard, who succeeded him in the baronetcy, and was a distinguished member of the country party in the reign of Charles II. Voting for the exclusion of the Duke of York, he was put out of the commission of the peace by James II. on his accession, joined in the Revolution, and voted for declaring the throne vacant in the Convention Parliament. He had only one surviving son, the eldest, Richard, who succeeded him as fourth Baronet. One of the younger daughters, Christian, married Sir Thomas Lyttelton, and was the

mother of George, Lord Lyttelton. The second daughter, Hester, married, as we have seen, Richard Grenville, of Wotton, and became eventually the heiress of her brother, Sir Richard Temple. The latter entered the army, and served with great distinction under Marlborough, was dismissed as a Whig by his successor Ormond, and, on the accession of George I., was created, October 19, 1714, Baron Cobham, in Kent, being descended through his grandmother, Christian Leveson, from Margaret, Lady Sondes, sister of Henry Brooke, sixth and last Baron Cobham of that family. He was raised to the further dignity of Viscount Cobham, May 23, 1718, with remainder, failing his male issue, of the dignity of Viscountess Cobham to his sister Hester Grenville and her issue male, and failing such, to his sister Christian Lyttelton and her issue male, with an extension of the dignity of Baron Cobham to his said sisters and their heirs-male, as in the case of the Viscountcy. Sir Richard Temple died without issue in 1749, when Hester Grenville became Viscountess and Baroness Cobham, and, on the 18th of October in the same year, was raised to the dignity of Countess Temple, with remainder of the Earldom of Temple to her issue male. She died in 1752, leaving four sons and one daughter. Richard, the eldest son, succeeded as Earl Temple; George, the second son, was the celebrated Minister of whom Burke has left one of his "characters;" the third, James Grenville, was the father of James, Lord Glastonbury, who was raised to that title in 1797, and died in 1825 without issue; the fourth son, Henry, was Governor of Barbadoes (where he was very popular), Ambassador to the

Porte, and a Commissioner of the Customs, and died in 1784. His daughter Louisa was the grandmother of the present Earl Stanhope. The Countess Temple's daughter, Lady Hester Grenville, became in 1754 the wife of the first William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, and was created Baroness Chatham in her own right. We have, therefore, now before us the first generation of that remarkable array of talent which was connected with the name of Grenville during the reigns of George II. and George III.

It is scarcely possible to tell the lives of the two brothers, Richard, Earl Temple, and the Right Honourable George Grenville, separately, so intimately connected were their political vicissitudes. Richard Grenville, the elder brother, was born September 26, 1711, educated at Eton, and sent on his travels. On his return to England he was elected, through the influence of his uncle, Lord Cobham, in 1734, for the Temple family borough of Buckingham, and he afterwards exchanged this seat for one for the county. On the death of his mother, in October 1752, he became Earl Temple, and thus united the estates of Wotton and Stowe. He had obtained, in 1736, a very considerable accession of property by his marriage with Anna Chamber, one of the daughters and coheirs of Thomas Chamber, Esq., of Hamworth, and a ward of the celebrated Lady Betty Germaine. He had formed the strictest intimacy, personal and political, with his brother-in-law, Pitt, and in November 1755, when the latter was dismissed from his office of Paymaster-General, Temple generously stepped forward with pecuniary assistance, conveying his offer through his sister, Lady Hester Pitt, in the following

delicate manner:—"I cannot defer till to-morrow morning making a request to you, upon the success of which I have so entirely set my heart that I flatter myself you will not refuse it to me. I must entreat you to make use of all your interest with Mr Pitt to give his brother Temple leave to become his debtor for a thousand pounds a-year till better times. Mr Pitt will never have it in his power to confer so great an obligation upon, dear Lady Hester, your most truly affectionate brother, TEMPLE." It was long before Pitt allowed the remembrance of this kindness to be outweighed by circumstances of an opposite character. Indeed, he may be said to have sacrificed to this remembrance not only himself, but in a great degree his country also. Earl Temple may have been in private life an amiable and excellent man, but there was in him an excessive self-appreciation, or rather, perhaps, we should say a most exaggerated estimate of his importance and claims as the head of the great Grenville family. There can be little doubt but his connection with Mr Pitt, the high position acquired by the latter, and the somewhat dependent social position in which that statesman had been placed relatively to Lord Temple, fostered this excessive family pride, and induced the Earl to attribute to himself much of the success and *prestige* of his distinguished brother-in-law. Lord Temple had, undoubtedly, considerable ability, but he can lay claim justly to nothing approaching the commanding genius of Pitt; and his idea that he must be appealed to by the latter for counsel and approbation on every occasion, and his attempt to dictate to him his political conduct, furnish singular instances of the power of

family and personal vanity. The same character and vanity are patent at least in his successor, the second Earl Temple and first Marquess of Buckingham; and for two generations, the Crown, the people, and politicians generally, were constantly encountered by these Grenville family pretensions in a manner which almost obliterated the public sense of their talents and services.

In November 1756, Lord Temple took office under Pitt, as First Lord of the Admiralty; but not being (through illness) consulted as to an alteration in the address in answer to the speech from the throne, he was so offended that he came down to the House of Lords, "at the hazard of his life," as he declared, and delivered an invective against the passage which had not received his sanction, and then strode out of the House, "with a thorough conviction," says Lord Waldegrave, "that such weighty reasons must be quite unanswerable;" but on his departure the address was voted unanimously. Pitt was also absent from his duties through gout, so this caused no breach between the brothers, and on the 5th of April in the following year Temple was dismissed by the King, as was immediately afterwards Pitt also. In the following June, however, Pitt forced his way into office again and carried with him Temple, who accepted the post of Lord Privy Seal. He thus became a prominent member of Pitt's great Administration, and his friends claim for him that during the frequent illnesses of Pitt, Temple really governed, and is entitled to much of the praise bestowed on the great Commoner. But though Temple might ably second and *sustain* Pitt's policy, there is no doubt that the inspiration of its

leading principles came from no other than Pitt himself. In 1759 the Cabinet was disturbed by Temple's exorbitant pretensions to a vacant Garter, for which the Duke of Newcastle very properly preferred the claims of Prince Ferdinand and the Marquess of Rockingham. Temple, however, made Pitt insist, with the greatest vehemence and arrogance of language, and at last Temple actually resigned his office; but after a private negotiation with the King, conducted through the Duke of Devonshire, resumed it in three days, and in February of the following year was gratified with the coveted Order, some fresh vacancies having taken place. Temple pleaded as his justification for pressing this claim that the King had exhibited openly such dislike to him that he wished for some public mark of his favour! He remained in office till Pitt quitted it in October 1761, when he also resigned. His younger brother, George Grenville, however, remained in the Ministry, and an estrangement took place between these brothers.

George Grenville was born October 14, 1712, and was also educated at Eton, and afterwards at Christchurch, Oxford. He chose the law as his profession, but relinquished it after a time for politics at the request of his uncle, Lord Cobham. He represented Buckingham from 1741 till his death. As early as December 1744, he was made a Lord of the Admiralty, and, after holding many offices, on the resignation of Bute in April 1763, he became the head of a new Government as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. "Mr George Grenville," says Lord Stanhope, "was (to sum up his character in three words) an excellent Speaker spoilt." For this

office he had been mentioned with general approbation in 1761, but he was induced on the resignation of Pitt to prefer a post in the Administration. Burke, drawing an elaborate character of him in a debate on American taxation in 1774, after his death, says much the same thing. "I do believe he had a very serious desire to benefit the public. But with no small study of the detail, he did not seem to have his view at least equally carried to the total circuit of our affairs. He generally considered his objects in lights that were too detached. . . . With a masculine understanding, and a stout and resolute heart, he had an application undissipated and unwearied. He took public business not as a duty he was to fulfil, but as a pleasure he was to enjoy. If he was ambitious, I will say this for him, his ambition was of a noble and generous strain. It was to raise himself not by the low pimping policies of a court, but to win his way to power by the laborious gradations of public service, and to secure himself a well-earned rank in Parliament by a thorough knowledge of the Constitution and a perfect practice in all its business." Pitt said of him, in 1754, that he was "universally able in the whole business of the House, and, after Mr Murray and Mr Fox, certainly one of the very best Parliament men in the House;" and Horace Walpole, confirming this, says that though not popular in the House, he "was of great authority there, from his spirit, knowledge, and gravity of character." Pitt, after their quarrel, in a debate on taxation in 1763, succeeded in fixing a sarcastic nickname on him which lasted some years. "If the right honourable gentleman," said Grenville, "objected to this particular tax, he was bound to tell

them where else he would have taxes laid. Let him tell me where," he repeated, "I say, Sir, let him tell me where!" Just then Pitt, sitting opposite to him, repeated, in a tone of voice mimicking that of Grenville, "Gentle Shepherd, tell me where!" And then rising, he added some sentences of bitter ridicule. Mr Knox, who was well acquainted with Grenville, says that "under a manner rather austere and forbidding he covered a heart as feeling and tender as man ever possessed." No doubt this austere manner and his natural gawkiness added point to Pitt's epithet. In private life his conduct was most irreproachable. He had but a small patrimony, but he made it his rule to live on his private fortune and save his public income for his family. He was a heavy speaker, chiefly from his excessive pains in elaborating the subject and exhausting every possible argument. The most useful thing he did was, perhaps, the Act which he carried for regulating controverted elections, by which the first step was taken towards doing away with the disgraceful system of party divisions on election petitions by referring them to select committees bound by oath. But the matter by which he will be remembered to posterity is the American Stamp Act, which he brought forward and always strenuously defended, though it is said he was not the actual author of it. Like his brother, Lord Temple, he had a strong idea of prerogative and established law, and no conception of the force of public opinion. Even Burke acquits him of anything but the most patriotic and praiseworthy intentions in proposing this mischievous and fatal measure, in which, it may be observed, Lord Temple always heartily concurred.

This probably paved the way for a reconciliation between the brothers. In 1765, the old Duke of Cumberland was commissioned by the King to arrange a new Ministry which should include Pitt, and Temple was again summoned from Stowe, and requested to resume office. But he not only declined, but succeeded in dissuading Pitt himself from accepting. He was about to become reconciled, it seems, with George Grenville, and wished to form a Ministry independent alike of the Whig houses and of Lord Bute, of which "the three brothers," as they were called, should be the heads. George Grenville and the Duke of Bedford, resuming their places, now attempted to dictate terms to the King which would remove all the adherents of Bute from the Ministry. The King, indignant, again had resort to Pitt, and again Temple was named for the Treasury. Pitt was willing to accept, but Temple peremptorily refused, saying "he had a delicacy which must always remain a secret." Pitt would not accept office without him, and the negotiation again ended in nothing, Pitt bitterly lamenting this desertion of Temple's, which he called an "amputation." The King fell back on the Whig houses. The Rockingham Ministry was formed in July 1765, and George Grenville quitted office, as it turned out, for ever. He continued to defend stoutly the American taxes against Pitt, and at length against the whole nation; had the good or ill fortune to be praised by "Junius," who was certainly connected with the Grenvilles; and opposed the expulsion of Wilkes, on the sensible ground that he would do less harm *in* the House than *out* of it. His health was rapidly declining when, in March 1770, he brought

forward his Elections Bill, and the loss of his wife, in December 1769, hastened his death, which took place on the 13th of November 1770. He married a daughter of Sir William Wyndham, and sister to the Earl of Egremont, and by her had a numerous family. His three sons — George, who became the second Earl Temple, Thomas, and William Wyndham — formed the second generation of statesmen of the Grenville family.

Earl Temple, meanwhile, pursued his haughty and mischievous line of conduct. When, after the fall of the Rockingham Ministry, Pitt was again summoned, he entreated Temple to take the Treasury; but the Earl, who never could see that even gratitude does not override patriotism, refused, unless he had an equal share in the distribution of offices and equal influence in the Cabinet—unless Pitt, in fact, abdicated in his favour. This Pitt refused, determining, as Lord Camden advised, "to save the nation without the Grenvilles," and a pamphlet war broke out, conducted by both parties with unusual virulence, Temple using private letters, and Pitt's agents declaring that but for him Temple might have died without "credit, except of having added a unit to the bills of mortality." They were, however, reconciled in 1768, when Lord and Lady Chatham visited Stowe in state, and Temple published to the world that their union was "eternal," and, indeed, it lasted till the death of Pitt. During the latter part of his life Temple retired, to a great extent, from politics, occupying himself principally with the improvement of Stowe—a place which has been ever since a sort of mania with the family—living chiefly among his relations, to whom he was uniformly

liberal, and charming all who came near him with the animation and brilliance of his conversation. He was, however, thrown, in 1779, from a pony carriage, fractured his skull, and remained unconscious till he died, on the 11th of September. His abilities were concealed by his preposterous pride, but he was a man of some real power and great kindliness of nature, with a princely liberality excessively rare among English aristocrats.

His nephew and successor, George, second Earl Temple, was the uncle over again with all his foibles intensified, more especially his thirst for family aggrandisement. He was a member of the second Rockingham Administration till it was broken up by the Marquess's death, when he adhered to Shelburne, accepted the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, and when his chief fell warned the King of the meaning and scope of Fox's India Bill. Aided by the "King's friends" and a letter from the sovereign openly disapproving the measure, he turned out Fox, and on the 19th of December accepted the seals of Secretary of State, to resign them on the 21st. The cause of this resignation has been often discussed, but the true reason seems to be the one given by Lord Stanhope. Temple was determined to be made a duke, and the King, who thought he had dukes enough, refused, and Temple, setting out in a bitter mood for Stowe, retired for some years into private life. He was partly appeased, however, on the 4th of December 1784, by his elevation to the rank of Marquess of Buckingham, becoming thus the single Marquess without a dukedom, and he accepted the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland. He remained there till 1789, when the Irish Parliament, moved by Grattan, voted that the Prince of Wales should be called to the

Regency with full royal power. Buckingham refused to transmit the address to England, and on the King's sudden recovery claimed the dukedom as his reward. This time Pitt supported him, but the King was firm, and Temple in violent displeasure resigned his Lord-Lieutenancy. Pitt, however, succeeded in appeasing him, but for the rest of his life his influence was only indirect. He retained a Tellership of the Exchequer, an office of immense profit; but his hospitality was unbounded, and he entertained the exiled royal family of France at Stowe in a style which seriously affected his revenues. He died February 11, 1813, leaving behind him the reputation of a man faithful to his principles and his party, but besotted with the idea of the claims of the house of Grenville. He had married, in 1775, Mary, eldest daughter and heir of Robert, Earl Nugent (of Ireland), of Gosfield Hall, Essex, and on the death of his father-in-law succeeded to the Earldom of Nugent, his wife being created in 1800 Baroness Nugent, with remainder to her second son, the late George, Lord Nugent, the biographer of Hampden. On his marriage the Marquess took the additional name of Temple-Nugent.

Thomas Grenville, the next brother of the Marquess, may be dismissed in a few words, though he rose to be a Cabinet Minister. He was only an accomplished man, was an adherent of Fox, and collected a library of rare books, which he bequeathed to the nation. The youngest brother, William Wyndham Grenville, who was an accomplished man and much more, was born October 24, 1759, was educated like his father at Eton and Oxford, entered the House of Commons in 1782, and was appointed Chief Secretary to his brother when

Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. In Pitt's Ministry he had the offices of Paymaster-General and Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and in January 1789 was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons. This office he accepted only conditionally that "it should not prejudice his other views," and as a stop-gap during the King's illness. Accordingly, in June following he quitted it for the post of Secretary of State for the Home Department. On the 25th of November 1790, Pitt, desiring to have a leader in the House of Lords in whom he could place confidence, obtained from the King the elevation of William Grenville by the title of Baron Grenville of Wotton-under-Bournewood, Bucks. In May 1791, Lord Grenville changed from the Home to the Foreign Secretaryship, which he continued to hold till the close of Mr Pitt's Administration in February 1801. He also received a year or two afterwards the rich office of Auditor of the Exchequer. He displayed, however, at all times a superiority to mere personal considerations which distinguishes him broadly from his eldest brother. He was a most ardent advocate of war with revolutionary France, holding firmly the opinion that she was a Power dangerous to the very existence of England. He differed from Pitt on the subject of free trade, being an ardent and uncompromising supporter of that doctrine. On Catholic emancipation and the slave-trade their opinions were in unison, and Lord Grenville had subsequently the satisfaction of carrying through the first measure which struck at the "domestic institution." He was an excellent man of business, minute and exact in detail like his father, but with that greater compass of mind the want of which Burke deplored in that statesman.

No despatches convey an idea of greater mastery and grasp of the subject than Lord Grenville's, and this accuracy of mind and breadth of treatment in combination gave his speeches a weight and authority with the House of Lords to which as pieces of mere eloquence they could not lay claim. However we may differ from his principles of foreign policy, it is impossible to deny to him a considerable elevation of spirit in the conduct of his department, and an acute, perhaps overstrained, jealousy of the national honour. Indeed, he watched as jealously over this as his elder brother did over the family honour of the Grenvilles. He resigned with Pitt in 1801 because the King would not concede Catholic emancipation, and went into strong antagonism to the Addington Ministry and the Peace of Amiens. When Pitt resumed office in 1804, without insisting on Fox being admitted to the Cabinet, Lord Grenville held aloof and declined to act with him. This drew him and Fox together, and on the death of Pitt, in 1806, Lord Grenville became First Lord of the Treasury in the Cabinet of which Fox was Foreign Secretary. This Cabinet did not long survive Fox's death. The old difficulty with the King recurred, and in 1807 it was dissolved. In 1809 Lord Grenville was chosen Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and from that year to 1815 he generally acted with Lord Grey. Their negotiations with George IV. as Regent are well known. Lord Grenville, however, differed from both Pitt and Grey in being an opponent of Parliamentary reform. He was a general supporter of Canning's administration and policy, but spent the latter years of his life in the retirement of his seat, Dropmore Lodge, in Bucks, which he had himself pur-

chased, and to the embellishment of which he devoted great pains. He was an accomplished man in general acquirements, and a thorough classical scholar. He died January 12, 1834, having just lived to see Parliamentary reform an accomplished fact, but too soon to witness the triumph of his free-trade principles.

The succeeding generations of peers of the house of Grenville we may dismiss with a few words. The second Marquess of Buckingham, Richard Temple-Nugent-Grenville, who was born in 1776, and died January 1839, was a man of fair but not remarkable talents, rather active in early life as a politician, and in general following the principles of his father. He opposed, however, the abolition of the slave-trade when first proposed by his uncle, though he acquiesced in it afterwards. Catholic emancipation he supported till it was an accomplished fact, but towards the close of his life he expressed himself greatly disappointed at its results. He was first a supporter of Mr Pitt, then of his uncle, Lord Grenville, and afterwards held a somewhat ambiguous position between parties, being essentially a sort of counsellor-extraordinary to George IV., and feeling and expressing in his letters very naïvely the Grenville self-complacency on such occasions. There was a decided family resemblance to his father, the same pretensions perhaps a little subdued. They were more successful, however, for on the 4th of February 1822, as a special mark of royal favour, he was raised to the Dukedom of Buckingham and Chandos, he having married in 1798 Lady Anna-Eliza Brydges, daughter and heiress of the Duke of Chandos. Through this marriage the Grenvilles incorporated a descent from, and became the representatives of, Mary, Duchess

of Suffolk, Henry VIII.'s younger sister, and assumed the name, in addition to their own, of Brydges-Chandos. At the same time with the elevation of the Marquess to the long coveted Dukedom the descent of the Earldom of Temple of Stowe was extended, in default of male heirs, to his granddaughter, Lady Anna-Eliza (now the wife of W. Gore-Langton, Esq.) and her male issue. The Duke was Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and Joint Paymaster-General in his uncle's administration, and on the 28th of May 1830 was appointed Lord Steward; but he resigned office with the Wellington Cabinet in November of that year, having gradually receded into moderate Toryism. His tastes, like those of his father, were expensive, and he was obliged for a time to shut up Stowe and live abroad. It may be doubted, however, whether much saving was effected by this proceeding, as the Duke sailed and travelled in a style more like a Prince Royal than a private nobleman. He spent large sums of money on rare collections, particularly of prints, including a most curious series of scarce portraits illustrative of Granger's Biographical History of England. Besides this he left collections of natural history, which with the foregoing disappeared under the hammer of the auctioneer at different periods in the life of his successor. He was succeeded by his son, Richard Plantagenet-Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, second Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. This nobleman will be chiefly recollected as the mover of the celebrated "Chandos (tenant-at-will) clause" in the Reform Bill, which transferred the representation of the counties from the Whigs to the Tories. He was an ardent Tory and anti-free-trader, and a man of some ability,

but of indifferent private character. The mad family pride of the race broke out in him in a new form. He tried to become a great weight in the State by enormous purchases of land, and as he bought at prices which gave him 2 per cent and paid with money raised at 4, he completed the family ruin which the lavish expenditure of the two preceding generations had paved the way for. The catastrophe which ensued and the great sale at Stowe are matters of recent memory. The Duke married a sister of the late Marquess of Breadalbane; but she obtained a divorce from him. He died in July 1861, and was succeeded by his son, Richard Plantagenet-Campbell-Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, the present and third Duke, a man of far higher moral character, and an excellent man of business, though probably not much more than this. The family fortunes have begun to revive under his auspices. Stowe has been again tenanted by the family, and the acquisition of some of the Breadalbane money will probably give them a new start, and enable them to regain some portion at least of the influence which has been exercised for so many years by the house of Grenville—a house which has done good service to the State, as well in opposing the Crown as in an official capacity, and which, by force of its independent character, as well as of its errors, has connected itself inseparably with the history of England.

The Russells.

THE Russells belong to the second list of English nobles—the houses founded on the great Sequestration—but they may possibly have an old pedigree. Immense labour has been expended in tracing it by genealogists dependent on the family, and it now lacks nothing except historic proof. Up to "James Russel, Esquier," of Swyre in Dorsetshire, and "Alys his wife, daughter of John Wyse," one or both of whom, according to a monument of coarse grey granite in Swyre Church, died in the first year of Henry VIII., the stream runs clear, but after that all is genealogical—*i.e.*, more or less plausible guesswork. This James Russell may be accepted as son of JOHN RUSSELL, for John's monument, recording his death in 1505, is opposite that of James; and *he* may have been the man who commanded the artillery in Carisbrook Castle under Edward IV., and was sent with Lord Hastings and others as Ambassador to Burgundy. The Swyre monument, too, is in a pew still belonging to Bewick House, and Bewick manor seems to have belonged to a Russell who acquired it by marriage from the ancient family of De la Tour. *If* this Russell was, as the first

Earl of Bedford believed, and as is recorded on his own monument, of the same line, then the Russells spring from a family who held Kingston-Russell* in Henry VI.'s reign, and *they* undoubtedly possessed their lands by direct grant from William the Bastard or his immediate successors, on the tenure of serving as King's cupbearer at the feast of Pentecost—an honour which, if the family are not content with a dozen generations of statesmen and patriots, they might yet recover, and so establish their claim to the bluest English blood, the group of adventurers who graved their names so deep into English soil. Mr Wiffen, the biographer of the house, thinks he can go farther, for he has found a Sir Hugh de Rozel, of Le Rozel, who signed a charter of the Countess Matilda's in Normandy on the eve of the battle of Hastings, who may have been a scion of the Bertrands, Lords of Briquebec, who may have been Turstans, who probably were descendants in the female line of Sigurd of Sweden, who certainly was the heir of Olaf the Sharpeyed, King of Rurik; but as there is not the faintest evidence that Hugh de Rozel ever came to England, and as there is evidence that he died a monk in Normandy, and as no one of the name appears in Domesday Book, Wiffen's long researches do not amount to much. The Dukes of Bedford must be content to know that they belong to a family ori-

* At Kingston-Russell the Duke has a farm of 800 acres, but this is only part of a grant of the manor, &c., made to Francis, second *Earl*, out of the lands of Beaulieu Abbey, Hants. The manor is in another family. *Bewick*, Dorsetshire, has long ceased to be a manor, but the house and farm belong to the Duke of Bedford. Unless it was an early purchase, this seems to connect the family directly with the old Russells of Bewick.

ginally French, which came over from somewhere immediately after the Conquest, but whether from Le Rozel in Briquebec, or Rozel near Caen, or Rozel in Jersey, neither they nor anybody else will probably ever know.*

What is quite certain is, that the Russells are descended from one JOHN RUSSELL, who, in the reign of Henry VIII., worked himself with dauntless perseverance and energy into the succession to countless monks, nuns, and other inefficient persons, and, born a simple gentleman, died Earl of Bedford, and one of the most potent nobles at a time when nobles were very few. This John may have been a Privy Councillor of Henry VII., and have attended the Archduke of Austria in Dorsetshire as interpreter, or spy, or both; but he certainly was a Gentleman of the Chamber to Henry VIII.,—"King's fire-screen," enemies called him,—and received from him in 1513 a grant of lands in Tournay, which he afterwards had to give up. He was one of the forty-five selected to accompany Henry to meet Francis on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and was wounded in Surrey's expedition against Morlaix, losing his right eye by an arrow, and being knighted on the deck of the flag-ship for his gallantry, along with Thomas More and others. He was employed by the King in several important missions, was present at the battle of Pavia, in which Francis of

* There are two historical Russells, neither of whom can be assigned to the existing Russell family with any show of evidence. A Sir John Russell was Speaker of the House of Commons in the 2d and 10th years of Henry VI., and there was also a John Russell who was Chancellor to Richard III., and the first Chancellor for life of the University of Oxford. We also find the name occurring among the early mayors of the city of London.

France was taken prisoner, and in the flight from which the "White Rose," De la Pole, was murdered, to the King's great content, and he sent from Milan a full despatch describing the victory, which he attributed entirely to the renegade Constable de Bourbon. On his return through Bologna the French laid a plot to carry off Henry's confidant, which there is good evidence for believing was frustrated by Thomas Cromwell, who then laid the foundation of his own fortunes. On his return to England Sir John Russell made another step in life by a marriage with Anne, widow of Sir John Boughton, and of Sir Richard Jerningham, daughter and coheiress of Sir Guy Sapcotes, heir of Dame Agnes Cheney. With her Sir John acquired the manor and seat of Cheneys, in Bucks, and other large possessions in that county. In March 1527, he was sent to Italy to treat with Clement, a mission stopped by the sack of Rome; but Russell made a curiously deep impression on the Italians, recorded in a letter still in existence. In 1528 he was again in England, and was made Sheriff of Dorset and Somersetshire. During the intrigues which ended in Wolsey's fall, he was the King's messenger, and while keeping the King's favour he so gained that of the Cardinal that he procured an Act of Parliament settling £20 a-year out of the revenues of Winchester and St Alban's upon Russell for life. In 1532 Russell attended the King to Calais and Boulogne, on his second interview with Francis, was admitted to the Privy Council, and appointed Comptroller of the Household. He was present at the marriage of Henry and Anne Boleyn, and says of her, in a letter to Lord Lisle, "I do assure

you, my lord, she is as *gentille* a lady as ever I knew, and as fair a queen as any in Christendom. The King hath come out of hell into heaven for the gentleness of this, and the crossedness and the unhappiness of the other." On the death of Queen Catherine, Russell was sent down to superintend matters connected with her funeral; and, as Comptroller, he sat on the Council when Anne Boleyn was examined before it. She afterwards complained to Sir William Kingston (as he writes to Cromwell) "of having been cruelly handled," especially by the Duke of Norfolk, "but named Mr Comptroller to be a very gentleman," —and, indeed, the *gentleness* of Russell's disposition is spoken of by contemporaries. In 1537 he was sent against the Lincolnshire insurgents, with small success till after Henry's second conciliatory proclamation. His services altogether were thought by the King to entitle him to new honours, and on March 9, 1539, Sir John was raised to the dignity of Baron Russell of Cheneys, and, on April 23, he was installed a Knight of the Garter. To support his new dignity, the King also gave him the manor of Amersham, in Bucks—part of the estate of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, attainted in 1521. The wealth of the dissolved monasteries was now flowing into the royal coffers, and Russell was destined to be largely enriched from that source. It is curious that the only trace we find of his *personal* action in the matter of the dissolution is an interposition with Cromwell in behalf of Peterborough Abbey, which led to the revenues of that Abbey alone being preserved and settled on the bishopric of the same name. In 1540, however, the King made a grant to Lord Russell, and Anne his

wife, and the heirs of their bodies, of the whole site and circuit of the rich Abbey of TAVISTOCK, in Devonshire, as also of the borough and town of Tavistock, and of the manors of Hurdwick, Morwell, and Morwelham, Milton Abbot, *alias* Milton Leigh, Lamerton, Hole, Brenter, Wick, Dabermon, Peter-Tavy, Ottery, Whitchurch, and Newton, with the hundred of Hurdwick or Tavistock, and the rectory and vicarage of Tavistock; likewise the manor of Antony, in Cornwall, and the manor of Denbury, with the manors of Plymstock, Worrington, Cowick, Enwick, Burleigh, Oldridge, Cavelinch, Whimpole, Wood-Marshton, Christenstow, Burington, and Cornwood, in Devonshire, all belonging to the dissolved monastery of Tavistock. Lord Russell had also several other lands granted him in Devonshire, Somerset, and Bucks, amongst which was the manor of Abbots Aston, in the last county, belonging to the dissolved abbey of St Alban's, Hertfordshire. He was made Lord Warden of the Stannaries for Devon and Cornwall, in 1541 was constituted Lord High Admiral and President of the Council in the West, and in 1543 Lord Privy Seal. He accompanied the royal army to the capture of Boulogne and the siege of Montreuil, but this was his last military achievement in this reign. The King, by his will, named him as one of the sixteen executors who were to act as counsellors to his son.

The accession of Edward, so far from diminishing Russell's position, brought him fresh honours. He was confirmed in his office of Privy Seal, acted as High Steward at the young King's coronation, and in the same year he had a grant of the monastery of

Woburn, in Bedfordshire. The large original grants in this county have since been greatly increased by the Russell family by purchases. In 1549 the site of Thorney Abbey and a considerable part of its large possessions were added to the royal grants to Russell. In the same year he was called again to suppress one of the formidable risings caused by the imprudent steps of the Protector's Government in reforming the Church, and found it no easy matter to put down the sturdy Devonshire and Cornish insurgents, who besieged Exeter, and reduced the townspeople to the last extremity. At length, being reinforced by Lord Grey and a body of German mercenaries, Russell was able to defeat and cut to pieces the main body of the insurgents, though not without considerable loss, and on one occasion the execution of all prisoners in dread of being overpowered by them. Russell was still in the West when the quarrel between Dudley and Somerset came to a head. Somerset wrote to Russell and Herbert to beg them to hasten to the King's aid, and they advanced accordingly to Andover; but being there informed that the Council had assailed Somerset, and disgusted with the appeal of the latter to the peasantry, they joined their strength to resist any threatening of a *jacquerie*. After the fall of Somerset, Russell, on January 19, 1550, was created Earl of Bedford. He was sent to France to settle the terms of peace, and in May 1552 his services were rewarded by the grant of Covent Garden and the Seven Acres, now called Long Acre, at that time of the yearly value of six pounds and a noble, now worth probably a thousand times that sum. At the crisis of Northumberland's conspiracy

Bedford was placed in a very difficult position. He had acted with the Government up to that time, but with Paget and other shrewd men he shrank from the Duke's ambitious schemes. His son, Lord Russell, had the charge of Windsor Castle, which added to the weight of the Earl's position. He submitted to Northumberland so far as to sign with the other noblemen and officers of State the new disposition of the Crown; but he remonstrated against it immediately afterwards, and Cecil claims the merit of having worked upon him to take a still more decided part against the Dudleys. Escaping from the restraint in which the Council were kept in the Tower, Bedford, with Arundel, Pembroke, and others, openly declared for Mary, as did Lord Russell. In return for this service Bedford was confirmed as Privy Seal, and conformed, like the rest, to the new order of religion, being sent into Devonshire again, this time to put down the Protestant rising of the Carews, his coadjutors in suppressing the former Catholic rising. He was successful, the Carews on his approach flying to France. He was sent to Paris to attend Philip into England, and was one of those who gave away Queen Mary at her marriage with him; but he was spared the further humiliation of sharing in or approving tacitly of the cruelties of the latter part of her reign, dying at his house in the Strand, March 14, 1555. His wife survived him a few years, and at her death bequeathed her manor of Thornhaugh, in Northamptonshire, to her grandson Edward, and that of Stibbington, in Huntingdonshire, to his brother Francis for life. Very little, it will be seen, is known of the character of the first Earl of Bedford, except that, like every other

favourite of the Tudors from Dudley to Cecil, he possessed, in addition to all other qualities, a certain flexibility, improved by the diplomatic training Henry's position forced upon all his immediate agents. They were an efficient class, these Tudor favourites, and not a very scrupulous one, and they played first and last with their heads for stakes such as have seldom been offered to ambition. Russell adhered to Wolsey, however, when adherence was very dangerous, and declared for his Sovereign's daughter when the Catholic ambassadors had abandoned her cause as hopeless. He was, we suspect, greedy of money; but greed and not prodigality is the true vice of a patriciat, and the first Russell absorbed abbey lands as the Roman patrician enclosed the *ager publicus*. There was knowledge in this Russell, or he could not have performed his missions; grace, or he could not have excited such warm friendship in Italy, and, as we have said, contemporary writers always mention his peculiar "gentleness," which was not so much gentleness as gentlemanly manner. On the whole, the house, we think, may be content with their founder, and consent to regard Mr Wiffen and the descent from Olaf the Sharpeyed with an indulgent smile.

John Russell was succeeded by his son Francis, second Earl, one of the few peers in our long list whose character is without speck or stain. He had been Sheriff of Bedfordshire and Bucks in 1547, when only just of age, and six years after was elected Knight of the Shire for Northumberland, setting for the first time the example of the eldest son of a peer submitting himself for election to the Commons. Shortly after his election he was called to the Upper House as Baron Russell,

and, as we have seen, took up arms on behalf of Mary. He bore a part in the successful affair at St Quentin, in the Anglo-Spanish war with France; but when "religion" was in question, Mary forgot all services—Lord Russell was thrown into prison for his opinions, and there is a letter of a well-known martyr addressed to him during this time of trouble exhorting him to firmness. He never gave way, and when released he retired to Geneva, where he expended his income in assistance to similar exiles. He did not return till the close of Mary's reign, but on her death proclaimed Elizabeth in the City, was nominated Privy Councillor, and remained for the rest of her reign one of her most trusted advisers. He commanded the English forces on the Border through all the long negotiations with Scotland, and habitually pressed on the Queen an alliance with the Scotch Lords of the Congregation against the Catholic party. On the appointment of Murray as Regent of Scotland in 1567, Bedford resigned his office, and when Mary fled into England he, for some reason, but probably from his acquaintance with Elizabeth's temper, refused to become her keeper. He even prevented his kinsman, Lord F. St John, from accepting the post, and in consequence fell out of favour; but Elizabeth never parted permanently with good counsellors, and he was soon restored to influence. She even visited him at Cheneys for several days—a great but expensive favour, for on occasion of a subsequent visit to Woburn we find him making suit to Cecil that the visit should be short. He was appointed, moreover, Chief Justice in Eyre of the forests south of the Trent, and Lieutenant of Dorset, Devon, and Corn-

wall. He died at Bedford House in the Strand the 28th of May 1585, leaving a reputation for unblemished integrity, a liberality to the poor which, said Elizabeth, "made all the beggars in the kingdom," and for being, as Camden says, a "true follower of religion and virtue." He was twice married; first to Margaret, daughter of Sir John St John, of Bletshoe, and sister of Oliver, first Lord St John; and, secondly, to Bridget, daughter of John, Lord Hussey, and widow of Henry, Earl of Rutland; but he had children only by the first wife—four sons and three daughters. The three elder sons died before him, the third, Sir Francis (knighted for his bravery in Scotland), leaving a son, Edward, to succeed his grandfather; and of the three daughters, the eldest married Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick; the second, the Earl of Cumberland; and the third, William Bourchier, Earl of Bath.

Sir William Russell, fourth and youngest son of Francis, second Earl of Bedford, showed rare courage in the battle of Zutphen, where Sir Philip Sidney fell, was a man of considerable ability, and on May 16, 1594, was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, where he passed a very troubled time, and on July 21, 1603, was created by James I. Baron Russell of Thornhaugh. It was his son Francis who, on May 3, 1627, succeeded his cousin Edward, third Earl—a young and undistinguished man, who died unmarried—as fourth Earl of Bedford, incomparably the ablest of all the Russells. He married Catherine, coheiress of Giles Brydges, third Lord Chandos of Sudeley, the family whose last heiress eventually married the head of the Grenvilles. On succeeding his father as Lord Russell of Thornhaugh, Francis, who had been a student of Gray's Inn,

associated himself with the popular party, Eliot, Selden, and Sir Robert Cotton, and became as learned as they in all the precedents of Parliamentary and popular liberties. His Parliamentary commonplace-books are said to attest his constant attention to public proceedings, scarcely a debate passing without his notes and comments in a particularly illegible hand. If he did not first introduce Pym into public life, which the dates of his accession to the earldom and estates render less probable, he certainly became his steady friend and constant fellow-counsellor. These two, indeed, with Eliot, were the real heads of the popular party during the latter part of the reign of James and the first years of Charles—a party whose origin and action has been too cursorily passed over by most historians. When the latter King gave his unusual and ambiguous form of assent to the Petition of Rights, Bedford commented on it in such strong terms, that he was ordered off to his Lieutenancy of Devonshire, where he was detained till the Parliament was prorogued. During the interval between the dissolution of the Parliament of 1628-9, and the summoning of the first of 1640, Bedford, among others, experienced the weight of the royal displeasure. There had been a book written by Sir Robert Dudley, natural son of Elizabeth's Earl of Leicester, in the time of King James, 'A Proposition for His Majesty's Service to Bridle the Impertinency of Parliaments.' It had been presented in manuscript to James, and highly approved of, and eventually found its way into the collection of manuscripts of Sir Robert Cotton. His librarian took the liberty of lending out manuscripts for a gratuity, and, among others, lent this, in 1630, to Oliver St

John, then a student of Lincoln's Inn, who, struck by its anticipation of the proceedings of the Government of Charles, showed it to the Earl of Bedford, and it came at last to Sir Robert Cotton himself, who seems to have been unaware that it was from his own library, and set his amanuensis to copy it. He made *several* copies, and these getting into circulation, reached at last Wentworth, then just become an apostate, who brought it to the notice of the Government, and all obnoxious men of note to whom the manuscript could be traced, were brought before the Star Chamber for circulating a seditious libel. These included the Earl of Bedford, Carre (the disgraced favourite of James) Earl of Somerset, the Earl of Clare (Denzil Holles's father), Selden, and St John. The last named was committed to the Tower (Selden was there already for his part in the preceding Parliament)—the rest were committed to strict private custody, while a bill was filed against them in the Star Chamber, and the Attorney-General actually opened the proceedings against them. A peer, however, was always a very difficult person to assail, the Stuarts being quite powerless against a united House of Lords—and the House being usually united when a member of its own body was illegally assailed—the Government found they could not support the charge, and took advantage of the birth of a prince to release the prisoners, and drop the proceedings. Sir Robert Cotton, however, had his library seized—it was never restored—and he died broken-hearted, as he himself said, at its loss.

On his release, the Earl of Bedford, finding politics for the time debarred him, turned his attention to a great project with which his name will be ever inse-

parably associated—the drainage of the great tract known as the "Bedford Level" of the Fens, which, extending over parts of the counties of Huntingdon, Northampton, Lincoln, Norfolk, and Suffolk, includes nearly 400,000 acres. This tract, originally dry land, had, from neglect and inundations, assumed the form of a pestilential morass, almost impassable by boats, owing to the sedge and reeds. In the reign of Elizabeth this state of things first attracted public notice, and a Royal Commission and an Act of Parliament were procured to stimulate the work of draining it, but nothing was actually done. The enormous reward visible attracted many speculators; in the reign of James, Chief Justice Sir John Popham obtained an Act to attempt the same object, and actually commenced; but he dying, the project again dropped through, owing to the opposition of landowners. Next, the Earl of Arundel, Sir William Ayloff, Bart., and Anthony Thomas, Esq., stepped forward. Much delay taking place, however, before the terms could be settled, King James caught at the idea himself, and undertook to do the work, on condition of receiving 120,000 acres when the work was completed. This was agreed to; but, like most of James's "ideas," this ended in *nothing*. In Charles's reign, Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, a Dutch engineer, proposed to the Commissioners of Sewers to drain the Fens for 90,000 acres in remuneration. He accordingly surveyed them, but then demanded 5000 acres more, which (he being in ill odour as a foreigner) were refused. But on the 13th of January 1631, the Commissioners entered into a contract with the Earl of Bedford, whose Thorney Abbey grant lay in this district, to do the work for the

95,000 acres demanded by Vermuyden. Then thirteen gentlemen of position offered to become joint adventurers with the Earl, and were accepted, and on the 27th of February 1632, the undertaking commenced. In 1634 the King granted them a charter of incorporation in consideration of 12,000 acres, and on the 13th of January 1637, the Commissioners adjudged the land to be drained. Up to this time the adventurers had expended upwards of £123,000. The acres were being allotted among the adventurers when the King, instigated by Vermuyden and Secretary Windebank, and the Stuart greed for cash, stepped in, appointed a new commission to examine into the state of the works, and sent down a leading courtier to raise the lower orders against the proceedings of the adventurers. On the 18th of July 1638, the new Commissioners declared the works incomplete, and accepted the King's proposal to drain the Fens himself, on condition of receiving the 95,000 acres and 57,000 additional. A great outcry ensued from both adventurers and the lower orders, and Oliver Cromwell obtained the title of Lord of the Fens by combining these outcries, and obliging the Commissioners at last to grant to the commoners, whose rights had been neglected by all concerned, right of pasture over the lands, till the works were adjudged completed, and 40,000 acres to the old adventurers. Vermuyden now got the matter into his own hands. Whether he did the work (such as it might be) well or ill, it is impossible now to say; such was the ill-favour in which he stood with the nation, and such the opposition to the operations, that little had been done when, in 1641, the King abandoned the project altogether. The Long Parliament took it up, but

had other matters to occupy them, till, in 1649, after the King's execution, an Act was passed restoring William, the then Earl of Bedford, to all the rights of his father, and the work going on actively again, on the 23d of March 1653, the Level was adjudged to be fully drained, and the 95,000 acres allotted to the Earl and his fellow-adventurers, the latter of whom had been nearly ruined by the expense of draining, which amounted to £400,000, and were most of them bought out. This is, we believe, the only great estate ever added directly to the soil of Great Britain; but other great families have less directly created their own estates. There is scarcely one of them which has not by large drainage, great harbour works, agricultural experiments, and mining risks, added immensely to the general wealth of the country. Indeed, till the joint-stock principle began to be tried, only great peers dared face great works. After the Restoration this Act of Parliament was confirmed in most of its provisions, and a corporation created, called "The Conservators of the Great Level of the Fens." But 12,000 acres were taken from the adventurers and given to the King, in pursuance of the charter of 1634 (except 2000, which had been granted to the Earl of Portland).

During this great undertaking Earl Francis had other affairs, private and public, which kept him fully occupied. His eldest son, William, had fallen in love with Lady Anne Carre, the daughter of the Earl of Somerset, born in the Tower while her wretched father and mother were prisoners there on the charge of poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury. The Earl of Bedford naturally enough strongly objected to the match. He had himself been one of the escort of the

Countess when she was taken to her trial, and for a long time was obstinate in refusing his consent. The young lady was one of the beauties of England, and had been brought up by her parents in the most careful manner, and being naturally of an excellent disposition, was one of the most desirable matches as far as her own character was concerned that could be found for William Russell. At last the King was induced to interfere, and to *request* the Earl to consent. Bedford then nominally gave way, but named for her dowry so high a sum that he hoped Somerset would be unable (impoverished as he was) to raise it. But Carre, bent on the match, sold his house at Chiswick (a site well known in modern times), his plate, his jewels, and his household furniture, to raise the £12,000 required; and Bedford having no further excuse, the marriage took place at Easter, 1637. It proved a very happy match, and one son born of it has obtained an imperishable name in history as Lord William Russell. The Earl rather opposed the calling of a Council of Peers at York, looking on it as a substitute for a Parliament which might be an injurious precedent, but on its meeting prevailed on the peers to petition the King to treat with the Scots; and accordingly he himself was sent as Commissioner for that purpose, and the result was the treaty of Ripon. On the meeting of the Parliament of April and the Long Parliament of November 1640, the Earl pursued the same course as in that of 1628-9, and was the acknowledged leader of the popular party in the Upper House as Pym was in the Lower. Together they counselled all the great measures taken in the first stage of that memorable as-

sembly down to the period of the trial of Strafford. Clarendon, who speaks of the Earl as "of the best estate, and the best understanding of the whole number of the popular party," tells us that Bedford was not so violent as the rest, and did not desire the destruction of the Established Church. There can be no doubt he was wholly in unison with Pym in this matter, who, as long as it was possible, desired only her reformation; and as to what Clarendon calls his violence, there is a very different account given by Archbishop Laud, in his 'History of his Troubles and Trial,' in which, alluding to the Earl's death, he says, "This Lord was one of the main plotters of Strafford's death, and I knew where he, with other Lords, before the Parliament sat down, resolved to have his blood. But God would not let him to take joy therein, but cut him off in the morning, whereas the bill for the Earl of Strafford's death was not signed till night." Bedford, therefore, lived just long enough to bring the important measure to its last stage, of which, no doubt, he had been among the most active abettors, though, perhaps, like Pym, preferring the form of a judgment to a bill of attainder. Clarendon's story that the King intended to place Bedford at the head of a popular administration may be true, and is supported by the appointment of Oliver St John in February 1641 as Solicitor-General; but this early date seems to disprove the assertion that the condition was the saving of the life of Strafford, and that the arrangement was only prevented by the Earl's death. Bedford died of the smallpox on the 9th of May 1641. Earl Francis, in his generation, went by the name of "the wise Earl," and he seems

to have fully merited the title. A grave, stern, resolute man, devoted to liberty, but without the faintest idea of equality, he was chief of the many peers who gave to the "Great Rebellion" its staid, almost aristocratic tone, who were, perhaps, the cause of its ultimate failure, and certainly the root and sap of the glorious fruit it bore through succeeding ages.

William, his successor, the husband of Anne Carre, and the fifth Earl of Bedford, was a man of far inferior abilities, though of very amiable and exemplary private character. He espoused the cause of the Parliament very heartily in the first stage of the Civil War, but getting alarmed at the revolutionary turn things were taking, gradually separated himself from Pym and the active party in both Houses, and supported all motions for an accommodation, Pym resisting these, on the ground that they were not accompanied with sufficient securities, and would be only "paper liberties." The Earl tried, with others, to induce the Earl of Essex, in the summer of 1643, to move on London, and overawe the ultra party, who had raised, through the pulpits, the citizens against the treaty. Pym, however, again defeated this by a personal visit to Essex, and Bedford, with the Earls of Holland and Clare, stole away to Oxford, and expressed to the King their penitence. As an earnest of his repentance, Bedford entered the royal army, and charged with great courage at the first battle of Newbury, in September, against his former friends, by the side of whom he had been sitting in August. But Charles, always a Stuart, showed his implacable spirit by distant coldness, the courtiers slighted the Earls in a marked way, they found the worst

counsels uppermost at Oxford, and, bitterly repenting of their desertion from Westminster, they one by one stole back again, and threw themselves on the mercy of the Parliament, Bedford and Clare returning on Christmas-day in this same year. This mercy was granted, and Bedford's estate, which had been sequestered, was returned after a few months, but they were not re-admitted to their seats in the House, and (except in advising the King in 1647 to close with the army's "Proposals") Bedford took no further prominent part in public affairs, until the rise of his son, William, to a leading position in the counsels of the "country party," in the reign of Charles II.

William Russell, the second son of William, fifth Earl of Bedford, was born on the 29th of September 1639. He was, therefore, just of age at the restoration of the Stuarts. He was sent in 1653 to the University of Cambridge, then under the reformed discipline of the Puritans, which, as Clarendon admits, contributed so much to the advancement of both Universities as schools of learning. He then was sent on his travels with his elder brother Francis, Lord Russell, and a young French Protestant gentleman, the Earl giving them a paper of advice for their conduct of a very elevated character. The elder brother had a melancholy temperament—which grew on him—and, separating himself from William at Augsburg in 1657, he went to Italy and France, and died abroad, unmarried, in 1678. The younger brother pursued his foreign travels till the Restoration, when he was recalled by his father. He entered Parliament for Tavistock, but found the gaieties of the

Court more attractive, and plunged at first into the mire of that region. From this contamination he was rescued completely by his attachment to Lady Rachael Wriothesley, second daughter and coheiress of Thomas Wriothesley, fourth and last Earl of Southampton, of that family, one of the most moderate of the Cavalier party in the Civil War. Lady Rachael was at this time the youthful widow of the Lord Vaughan, eldest son of Richard, second Earl of Carbery. Her mother was a French lady distinguished by her beauty and virtues, and Lady Vaughan inherited from her father as well the higher qualities of private life. After a courtship of about two years, the marriage took place in May 1669. The happiness which attended it is well known. Lady Vaughan brought a large accession of property to her new husband—the great Bloomsbury estate, with Southampton House, and estates in Hampshire and elsewhere. Southampton House occupied the whole north side of the present Bloomsbury Square, being constructed after the designs of Inigo Jones, by the Earl of Southampton, old Southampton House, Holborn (now occupied by Southampton Buildings), having been pulled down in 1652. It changed its name to Bedford House (the old Bedford House, Strand, on the site of the present Southampton Street, being pulled down in 1704), and in 1800 was sold by auction, and immediately pulled down. William Russell, soon after his marriage, began applying himself to public affairs, and rose steadily to the leadership of the popular party in the House of Commons. In 1679 he was made a Privy Councillor, but dismissed in 1680, with the curious entry

in the 'Gazette,' ordered by the King, "With all my heart," which is unique as a piece of honesty in that publication. He always supported toleration to Nonconformists, wishing—as he wrote in his last paper, given to the Sheriffs at his execution—that the Church were less severe, and Dissenters less scrupulous; but he expresses in the same paper the strongest detestation of Roman Catholicism, as an "idolatrous and bloody" religion, and there is little doubt that his sentiments on that subject were rather narrow and intolerant. He had the boldness to "present" the Duke of York to the Court of King's Bench as a "recusant," and he pursued extreme measures against the Catholics for the alleged Popish Plot,—a series of real plottings exaggerated and systematised for interested and party purposes by Shaftesbury,—though Russell declares he himself did so with entire sincerity, and without being privy to any tampering with the witnesses. The discredit, however, thrown on the party by their violence in this matter enabled the King to defeat them on the Exclusion Bill—a much more justifiable measure. Then came the "reaction," and the alleged Rye-House Plot, of which much the same may be said as of the Popish Plot—that it was a real design, distorted in its purpose for the interests of the Crown, and as a means of destroying the popular leaders. Russell's iniquitous "trial," and the conduct of Lady Russell on the occasion, are matters of history; on the 21st of July 1683 he was executed, notwithstanding all the efforts and offers of the Earl of Bedford with the King and the Duchess of Portsmouth. His character is seen with great clearness from the accounts of contemporaries. He

was not a man of high genius, and very inferior to his grandfather, but still much above his father in the qualities of decision and constancy. Burnet says of him :—" He was a man of great candour and general reputation, universally beloved and trusted, of a generous and obliging temper. He had given such proofs of an undaunted courage, and of an unshaken firmness, that I never knew any man have so entire a credit in the nation as he had. He quickly got out of some of the disorders into which the Court had drawn him, and ever after that his life was unblemished in all respects. He had from his first education an inclination to favour the Nonconformists. . . . . He was a slow man, and of little discourse, but he had a true judgment when he considered things at his own leisure. His understanding was not defective, but his virtues were so eminent that they would more than balance real defects, if any had been found in the other." With this moderate and discriminating estimate Sir William Temple, on whose judgment of men we may safely rely, agrees. He affirms that Russell's setting himself at the head of the Exclusion party had a great influence on the Houses of Parliament, he " being a person in general repute of an honest worthy gentleman, without tricks of private ambition, who was known to venture as great a stake as any subject of England." This estimate, though not reaching the rapturous strain of some historians, is quite enough to account for Russell's undying fame in an age so generally corrupt, profligate, and self-seeking.

There is a story that the Earl of Bedford, when called on by James II. in his extremity for advice

and assistance, replied bitterly that he had a son once who might have been of use to the King at that conjuncture. Be this true or not, there can be no doubt that this represents the spirit in which the house of Russell regarded the downfall of James and the accession of William. They were undoubtedly among the foremost of the great "influences" which persuaded Englishmen, the majority of whom still believed in hereditary right, to accept a younger Stuart in place of the elder branch. After the Revolution, the Earl of Bedford was appointed a Privy Councillor, and carried the Queen's sceptre at the coronation, and on May 11, 1694, he was raised to the dignities of Marquess of Tavistock and Duke of Bedford. On his grandson and heir making a match with the heiress of the wealthy Howland family, the Duke was created, June 30, 1695, Baron Howland, of Streatham, Surrey, and died in the eighty-seventh year of his age, February 7, 1700.

The fame, we can hardly say the good fame, of the family was sustained in the reign of William by Edward Russell, grandson of the fourth Earl, and nephew of the fifth, the admiral who in 1697 gained a peerage—the Earldom of Orford—but died without issue in 1727, and whose reputation is seriously impaired by his double-dealing and treachery between James and William. Of his abilities there can be little doubt, —they were probably above those of Lord William Russell.

The career of Wriothesley Russell, second Duke of Bedford, son of the patriot William Russell, was short and insignificant. It began in foreign travels, and ended in a country retirement and devotion to horti-

cultural and agricultural pursuits. Once or twice the Duke appeared in public matters—on the High-Church side in the beginning of the reign of Anne, but afterwards, in the Sacheverell proceedings, on the other side, and he continued an adherent of the Whig party down to his death, May 26, 1711. His eldest son, Wriothesley, third Duke, was a still feebler character. He was, indeed, a patron of the fine arts, but a reckless devotee to gambling at the billiard-table and on the turf, and so intellectually weak and easily imposed upon that he was the dupe of all the disreputable men about town and the laughingstock of society. He did his best to impair the credit and lessen the wealth of his family, but luckily going abroad to Portugal for his health, which was always feeble, he had to land at Corunna, and expired there on the 23d of October 1732, the only Russell since the founder who can be unhesitatingly pronounced a fool. Fortunately for the house, he did not live long enough to injure it seriously, and at his death his successor inherited a property not yet swollen by the great rise in rentals or the growth of London, but still including the first and immense abbey grants, the chief share of the reclaimed Bedford Level, and the great property brought to the family by the heiress of the Southamptons, a property which, with the ancient grants, makes the melancholy man who now reigns as Duke one of the three who may be fairly said to own London from Brunswick Square to Chelsea. These great possessions, then worth, on indifferent evidence, about fifty thousand a-year, now valued on excellent testimony at six times that sum, had now fallen to a man who comprehended better than any peer or statesman of that

age that power belonged in England to the great owners of land.

This was the brother of the third Duke, Lord John Russell, who succeeded as fourth Duke of Bedford, a man of very different and far higher character, whose life, extending to the year 1771, is connected with all the leading political changes of that period. We have had already to notice some of his proceedings in speaking of otheir families. He was born in 1710, and married Lady Diana Spencer, daughter of Charles, Earl of Sunderland; and, secondly, in April 1737, Gertrude, eldest daughter of John, Earl Gower. Lord Stanhope calls the fourth Duke of Bedford "a cold-hearted, hot-headed man, more distinguished by rank and fortune than by either talent or virtue." His own pages, however, elsewhere soften this estimate considerably. Thus Lord Stanhope admits him to have been an honest and honourable man, and appears to be inclined at other times to lay his faults on the shoulders of his friend and dependent Rigby, a jovial man of rather easy and unscrupulous principles. Bedford had the misfortune not only to quarrel with Pitt and the Grenvilles, but also to offend both Horace Walpole and Lord Chesterfield, the last of whom is particularly bitter against him, while Walpole, more moderate in his remarks, cannot forgive Bedford his share in the downfall of his father's administration. It would seem that the Duke was a man of some ability and considerable powers of application to business, though he often neglected it, owing, he himself said, to his natural indolence, but seemingly because he preferred country life at Woburn; so that, as far as his own advancement was concerned, his temperament

was stronger than his personal ambition, and led him to be inclined to refuse rather than seek office. Yet he was methodical and regular in his ways, and so economical in his ideas, that he was accused of avarice; but Walpole acquits him of this on the score of his well-known generosity. He had a very hot temper, which accompanied a very unreserved, uncompromising, and frank character. He was very warm, both in his friendships and in his enmities, easily irritated with, but yet much influenced by, his friends. His friend the first Fox said of him, "He was the most ungovernable governed man in the world." When he once made up his mind he was inflexibly obstinate, and to be moved by neither King nor people. Walpole admits his "inflexible honesty and good-will to his country." His cabals, such as they were, were in open council, and his errors were all the more remarked on because there was no attempt made by him to disguise them.

The Duke began, like most of the younger men of the day, by opposing the administration of Walpole, inveighing especially against its corrupt practices and its cowardly or over-pacific policy abroad. The downfall of Walpole left the field open first for Pulteney, and then for Carteret and the Pelhams. Gradually the latter gained the ascendant, but finding the King disposed to side against them in the struggle with Carteret, they called in the aid of the Opposition. Bedford, who had opposed the German policy of Carteret, was one of these, and at a meeting of the Opposition chiefs he was one of the majority who carried a resolution to join the Pelhams unconditionally. He was then, November 1744, appointed First

Lord of the Admiralty in the "Broad-bottom" Ministry, as it was called. In February 1748 he exchanged this office for that of Secretary of State. His chief employment as such was to negotiate a treaty with Spain, which he effected in 1750. The Duke of Newcastle soon became jealous of Bedford, and began to intrigue against him. As usual, he succeeded in his immediate object, first disgusting Bedford entirely with the Ministry, and then, by dismissing his friend Sandwich from the Admiralty, inducing the Duke himself to resign the Seals in 1751. After the death of Mr Pelham, Newcastle found his administration giving way gradually, and endeavoured through Bedford's friend Fox to induce the Duke to accept the office of Privy Seal. But Bedford refused to act with Newcastle, and the fall of the latter soon followed. The Duke of Devonshire was put at the head of a Ministry of which Pitt was the leading spirit, and on December 15, 1756, Bedford accepted the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland. Here, according to Lord Stanhope, he began with a very lofty standard and great professions of purity of government, but soon fell into the old way of governing by bribery. This appears to be true, though rather unfairly put. That the Duke endeavoured to govern by better means is admitted; that he failed, and had recourse to the old lower agencies, which were found so successful, is only *particularly* blamable in him on account of his previous good intentions. He, however, persevered in one line of policy to which Lord Stanhope has not adverted. He from the first was the advocate of a relaxation of the penal laws affecting Roman Catholics, and not only endeavoured (though vainly) to get a modification of

them, but in his own administration exhibited a strict impartiality between the two religions. The result was that warm addresses of gratitude were presented to him from the Roman Catholics, and when the French threatened and actually made a descent on Ireland in the interest of the Pretender, the Roman Catholics rallied round the Viceroy with strong expressions of devotion, and the expedition proved a ridiculous failure. On the other hand, Bedford had some difficulty with the Dublin mob, who, taking into their heads that there was a design to carry the Union, broke into the Irish House of Lords, and committed other disorders till scattered by a military force. The Duke of Bedford continued in his Viceroyalty beyond the death of George II., not resigning till January 1761. On returning to England he supported in the Privy Council a policy differing from that of Pitt and Temple. He held that it was unwise to continue the war merely to deprive France of all right of fishing off Newfoundland, and to take Martinique from her merely because it suited the King of Prussia to continue the war with Austria. He urged that if we endeavoured to obtain a maritime monopoly, we should raise a coalition against us similar to that raised against Louis XIV. Pitt, supported by the City of London, maintained that France was our natural enemy, and that we must destroy her maritime and colonial power entirely, and could not without dishonour abandon Prussia. At last Pitt, in October, resigned, and in November Bedford accepted the office of Privy Seal. Bute claimed a relationship to the Duchess of Bedford, who had great influence with her husband, and flattered Bedford to the utmost. Under this influence

the Duke lent himself to the unworthy secrecy towards Prussia which was observed in the commencement of the negotiations, and accepted the post of negotiator. He set out for Paris, and after some disagreements with Bute on the score of powers, which the latter tried to limit, he concluded first the preliminaries, and afterwards the treaty of peace at Fontainebleau in 1763. The Duke showed great firmness in at least one point of the treaty affecting the territories of the East India Company, who, through a blunder of their own, had at first proposed an article which would have deprived them of a considerable tract of territory conquered from them by the French. Bedford said he should demand his passports, and the French gave way. Bedford was still in Paris when he received from Lord Bute the news of his resignation (April 1763), and was summoned by him to come over and assist in making a new Cabinet. The Duke came over, but he found no guarantee against the intrigues of Lord Egremont, who had been thwarting him all along, and he distrusted Bute's apparent support. He therefore declined office, and George Grenville became the head of the new Ministry. Again an attempt was made to gain the Duke, but he had now discovered Bute's secret treachery towards him, and he sent in his absolute terms that Lord Bute and his friends should be excluded from office and influence, and Pitt brought in, the latter recognising the peace as a *fait accompli*. Pitt declined this, and afterwards made it a condition with the King that the Duke of Bedford should not be admitted into the Ministry, and the Duke remained out of office till Lord Egremont's death made a change possible, and then, on obtaining

a distinct promise from the King that Bute should be excluded for ever from his counsels and presence, Bedford in November accepted the Presidency of the Council. The King is said to have obtained this adhesion by betraying to the Duke Pitt's proscription of him. The Grenville Administration had carried the American Stamp Act without difficulty, but was shaken by the Regency Bill, in which, by omitting to name the person and leaving the nomination to the King, they had virtually placed Lord Bute in the position of eventual Regent as absolute director of the Princess Dowager. Then, when they attempted to remedy this by excluding her by name, the King resented it, and tried to persuade Pitt to accept office. This came to nothing, and then Grenville and Bedford made new conditions against Bute influence, the Duke going so far as to call him the "Favourite" in a personal interview with the King, and to hint that the compact respecting him had not been kept. The King then had recourse to the other Whig houses, the Rockingham Ministry was formed, and Grenville and Bedford dismissed. This was on July 10, 1765. In the preceding May Bedford had had to stand a curious siege in Bedford House from the Spitalfields weavers, who resented the rejection of a bill to put prohibitive duties on Italian silks. Bedford showed himself on this occasion inflexible, and Horace Walpole draws a curious picture of the military array in his courtyard. The weavers were first dispersed by force, and afterwards pacified by a public subscription, and an agreement on the part of the silk-merchants to countermand their foreign orders. The Duke, after his resignation, spent some time in Paris, and never again joined any

Cabinet. He declined offers of Chatham and Grafton, though he advised his friends in 1768 to join the latter nobleman. His own health was fast failing; his eldest son, the Marquess of Tavistock, a young man of the greatest promise, died in March 1767, from the effects of a fall while hunting; and his young wife, after giving birth to a posthumous child, fell into a decline, and died a year afterwards. The Duke himself only survived to the 15th of January 1771. His public life may be summed up in the words that he was a man honest and upright in his intentions, but who suffered personal influences to affect his judgment, and sudden personal feelings to direct his actions to an extent which placed him constantly in false positions, and in combination with persons with whom he had no real sympathy. Thus are to be explained probably those political vagaries which made the Whig statesman the associate of Lord Bute, and the great stumblingblock in the formation of a strong Whig government. In private life he was all that was amiable. The present Earl Russell, in opposition to Lord Stanhope, asserts that he was extremely *warm*-hearted. He delighted in the amusements of country life, especially in cricket and private theatricals. He almost entirely rebuilt Woburn Abbey, on a plan of great extent, formed there a large gallery of historical portraits, and delighted in laying out anew the plantations of Woburn. He planned the Evergreen Drive in that park, and in making the plantations connected with it the gardener objected to some change of plan as destructive of the plantation and injurious to his (the gardener's) own reputation as a planter. The Duke replied, "Do as I desire you, and I will take

care of your reputation." Accordingly, when the alteration was completed, the Duke set up a board, facing the road, on which was inscribed, "This plantation has been thinned by John Duke of Bedford, contrary to the advice and opinion of his gardener." He could have exhibited no more astonishing proof of his natural obstinacy when he had once made up his mind than in carrying his point against a self-opiniated gardener.

Francis, grandson of Duke John, succeeded him as fifth Duke of Bedford at the early age of six years. A long minority and an early death reduce the public life of this nobleman to the compass of but few years; and these were all spent in opposition, under the auspices of Charles James Fox, with whom he had a strong and lasting friendship, public and private. The Duke displayed considerable ability, and was the leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords during the earlier part of the French war, constantly urging the conclusion of peace, and opposing, as the President of the Whig Club, the Sedition Bills and other domestic measures of the Pitt Government, and his speeches had great force with the Upper House. Yet when Pitt, in 1796, appealed to the nation to contribute to a new loan of £18,000,000, at 5 per cent—to be taken at £112, 10s. for every £100 stock—with the option to the proprietors to be paid off at par within two years after a treaty of peace, Bedford came forward with £100,000. The Duke died at Woburn, March 2, 1802, unmarried, and was succeeded by his brother John, sixth Duke of Bedford. This nobleman, who entered Parliament for Tavistock in 1788, and sat for it till his brother's death, was

less of a politician than an ardent agriculturist and a most amiable and respected country gentleman, residing the greater part of the year at Woburn. He engaged the services of Telford and others in re-draining and extending the Bedford Level, rebuilt Covent Garden Market at a cost of £40,000, and spent a like sum on the church at Woburn. To his house there he added a gallery of statuary brought by him from Italy. He was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in the short Grenville Administration of 1806; but never again accepted office, though a stanch Whig to the last. He not only improved his estates materially, but devoted great pains to ameliorating the condition of the farm-labourers, rebuilding their cottages both in Bedfordshire and Devonshire, and re-letting them at a low rental—a process the family are now, we believe, engaged in repeating. He died in October 1839, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Francis, the seventh and late Duke of Bedford, who followed much the same course of life with his father, like him preferring agriculture and country life to an active part in politics. The Duke, however, was understood to be a man of sound judgment in politics as well as country pursuits, and he always participated in the counsels of his younger and more distinguished brother, Lord John Russell, whose debts incurred through his acceptance of office he repeatedly paid—as Lord John stated to a Committee of the Commons appointed to inquire into salaries—and to whom he at last bequeathed an estate sufficient to support a new peerage. For many years the Duke, though without office, was in truth a leading member of the Cabinet—a position very rarely held by any one out-

side its pale. Under his careful management, the income of the head of the house of Russell attained to the enormous sum of £300,000 per annum. The Duke died May 14, 1861, and was succeeded by his only son, William, eighth Duke, who has always led a very secluded and peculiar life, and is unmarried. The fame of the Russells has, it need hardly be said, rested for many years on the reputation and position of the uncle of the present Duke, Lord John Russell, the mover of the Reform Bill, and for so long a time the leader of the Whig and Liberal parties. He was created, on the 30th of July 1861, Earl Russell, of Kingston-Russell, Dorset, and Viscount Amberley, of Gloucestershire. His eldest son shows some promise of maintaining the family character for ability, though as yet unknown as a politician.

Taken for all in all, no one of the great houses, except perhaps the Percies, who have so often saved her from invasion, has deserved better of England than that of Russell. The founder was a great and successful plunderer of the abbeys, but it is better to plunder monks than to plunder the Saxon people, and the properties of the great peers came almost all from one of those two sources. Since his time one Russell has staked his head for the Protestant faith, a second the estates in successful resistance to a despot, a third has died on the scaffold for the liberties of Englishmen, a fourth has aided materially in the Revolution which substituted law for the will of the Sovereign, a fifth spent his life in resisting the attempt of the house of Brunswick to rebuild the power of the throne, and gave one of the first examples of just religious government in Ireland, and a sixth organ-

ised and carried through a bloodless but complete transfer of power from his own order to the middle class. The value of a nobility to a State has been questioned, but if a nobility is valuable, it is in families like the Russells that its worth consists. They overshadow meaner men a little too much; but then, if the trees spoil the corn, it is also they which collect the rain.

The Cecils.

THE Cecils have a great ancestor, but no pedigree. A parasite of the founder, the crafty resolute patriot who built Elizabeth's throne, tried to persuade him that he was the lineal representative of the Roman Cæcilii,* a pedigree which would have placed him above every Norman baron; but the able old man had more modest ideas, and was greatly distressed because, believing himself to be gentleman in the English sense, he could not quite prove it. His enemies would have it that his grandfather "kept the best inn in Stamford," and the first Earl of Salisbury was taunted by peers as grandson of a sievemaker; but the Cecils themselves were doubtful, as witness this letter from the founder's son, first Earl of Exeter, to a relative:—"I have thought

* It is a curious and not quite explicable fact that there is *no* pedigree in the modern world which can be proved to connect us with the ancient civilisation, and only one, that of the Savelli, which claims to do so. The patriciat cannot have perished utterly, and the only explanation is, that its heiresses intermarried with the invaders, and are lost in their barbarous designations. We question whether in Europe any pedigree equals that of the Queen as lineal representative of Wulf the Teuton. The Hindoo pedigrees are longer, but they include adoptions, and there is a doubtful element in all the Jew descents. Otherwise clear connection with the tribe of Levi would be a matchless descent.—(M. T.)

good to require you to make search in my study at Burghley amongst my boxes of my evidences; and I think you shall find that very writ itself by the which my grandfather, or great-grandfather, or both, were made Sheriffs of Lincolnshire or Northamptonshire; and likewise a warrant from the Duke of Suffolk in King Henry the Eighth's time to my grandfather, and old Mr Wyngfyld that dead is, for the certifying touching the fall of woods in Clyffe parke or Rockyngham forest, by the name of Davy Cecyll, Esquire; which title at those days was used but to such as were gentlemen of note, where commonly they were entitled but as the name of gentlemen, though now the name of esquire is used on the naming of any gentleman. If you have any records of your own to show the descent of my great-grandfather, I pray you send a note thereof; likewise my Lord my father's altering the writing of his name inclineth many that are not well affected to our house to doubt whether we are rightly descended of the house of Wales,* because they write their name Sitsell, and our name is written Cecill; my grandfather wrote it Syssell, and so in orthography all the names differ. Whereof I marvel what moved my Lord my father to alter it. I have my Lord's pedigree very well set out which he left unto myself, which my brother of Selby Priory desired me for to give in charge unto you." The letter is dated London, November 14, 1605.

* "The house of Wales" are the family of Sitsylt or Cecil, of Alterynnis, in Herefordshire, who claimed a descent from the Princes of Wales. The Lincolnshire Cecils claimed as their ancestor a younger son of this family, whom they identify with the David Cyssell referred to in the text, and the Welsh Cecils wisely allowed the relationship, which could only bring them good. But the connection is entirely hypothetical.

This Burghley pedigree exists, with notes of Lord Burghley, tracing him up to Sitselt or Sitsell, who in 1091 received lands in Wales from Robert Fitzhamon, who conquered Glamorgan; but Cecil scarcely believed his own story, and we pass on to facts. David Cyssell (as he spells his name in the signature to his will) had certainly property in Lincolnshire and particularly in Stamford, in the time of Henry VII., founding (as appears by the Patent Rolls) a chantry in St George's Church in that town in the 22d year of that reign. In the 3d of Henry VIII. he was constituted Water Bailiff of Wittlesey Mere, Huntingdonshire, and keeper of the swans there, and throughout the waters and fens in the counties of Huntingdon, Cambridge, Lincoln, and Northampton, for the term of thirty years. In the 5th of Henry VIII. he was made one of the King's Serjeants of Arms, and having this employment at Court, obtained for his son Richard the office of page of the Crown. In the 8th year of the same reign he obtained a grant to himself and son of the keepership of Clyff Park, in Northamptonshire, and in the 15th Henry VIII. he was constituted Steward of the King's lordship of Coly-Weston, in that county, and Escheater of the county of Lincoln on the death of Sir William Spencer. In the 23d year of Henry VIII. he was made Sheriff of Northamptonshire, and was three times an alderman of Stamford. He died in the year 1536 (according to Lord Burghley's own entry), having married Jane, daughter and heiress of John Dicons, of Stamford, by Margaret, daughter and heiress of John Sewark. His heir, Richard Cyssel, the royal page, attended Henry in this capacity to the interview

with Francis in 1520, and in the 29th Henry VIII. he had a grant of divers pastures and closes in Maxey, and two years afterwards was Sheriff of Rutland. He married Jane, daughter and heiress of William Heckington, of Bourn, in Lincolnshire. He also made a purchase of the two manors of BURGHLEY, or Burley, in Northamptonshire—the old and the new—from Margaret Chambers, the heiress and devisee of Henry Wykes, clerk. In the 32d Henry VIII. he had a grant of the site of St Michael's Priory, near Stamford, the church, and 299 acres of arable land lying in the parish of St Martin's, in Stamford. In the 36th Henry VIII. he purchased of the Crown the manor of Essendon, part of the lands of the late Earl of Warwick. The next year he surrendered the custody of Warwick Castle, which had been intrusted to him. Henry VIII. left him by his will, made in 1546, 100 marks; but it is not likely that Cyssel ever received this legacy, the King's debts being ordered to be paid first. He himself died March 19, 1553—we follow Lord Burghley's date rather than Collins's—and was buried in St Margaret's Church, Westminster. He left one son—WILLIAM, the founder of the family fortunes—and three daughters.

William CECIL (as we may as well at once call him) was born, according to his own statement, on the 13th of September 1520, in the parish of Burn, or Bourn, Lincolnshire. This was the parish to which his maternal grandfather, William Heckington, belonged, and he was probably born at his house, and called after him. Little is known of his early life. He was educated at first, it would seem, at the grammar-school at Grantham, and afterwards removed to Stamford. In May 1535 he was sent to

St John's College, Cambridge. Here he was a most diligent student, to the serious injury of his health, paying the bellringer to call him up at four o'clock every morning. The master of the college was much struck by his "diligence and towardness, and would often give him money to encourage him." When only sixteen he was reader of the Sophistic Lecture, and before he was nineteen he read the Greek Lecture "as a gentleman for his exercise upon pleasure, without pension," and "at that time it was a rare thing to have any perfected in the Greek tongue." These particulars are given by a member of Burghley's household, and may have been supplied by that nobleman himself, but probably the account of his classical proficiency is very much exaggerated. Among his chief associates at Cambridge were Matthew Parker (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury in Elizabeth's reign), Nicholas Bacon (afterwards Lord Keeper in the same reign), Roger Ascham, and Sir John Cheke, the two latter afterwards preceptors of Elizabeth. To Cheke, in particular, Cecil was greatly indebted for assistance in his studies. In 1541 he left the University, without taking his degree, and on the 6th of May entered at Gray's Inn, probably for general rather than professional training in law. Here he engaged in antiquarian pursuits, and became a zealous student of heraldry. This did not prevent him from entering into amusements of a very different kind, and he had a caustic wit lively and humorous enough to render him a general favourite with the young men of his own age. The next step in his life is recorded by himself thus in his diary:—"Anno 1541, Aug. viii., nupsi Mariæ Cheke, Canta-

brigiæ." (In a MS. book among the Lansdowne MSS. he writes more correctly, "duxi in uxorem Mariam Cheke.") The lady he married was the sister of John Cheke, his college friend. In the same year he first attracted the notice of King Henry. "Coming from Gray's Inn to the Court to see his father, it was his chance to be in the presence-chamber, where he met two priests, chaplains of O'Neill, who were then in Court, and talking long with them in Latin he fell into dispute with the priests, wherein he showed so great learning and wit as he proved the poor priests to have neither, who were so put down as they had not a word to say, but flung away, no less discomfited than ashamed to be foiled in such a place by so young a beardless youth. It was told the King that young Mr Cecil had confuted both O'Neill's chaplains, at which the King called for him, and after long talk with him, much delighted with his answers, the King willed his father to find out a suit for him. Whereupon he became suitor for a reversion of the Custos Brevium's office in the Common Pleas, which the King willingly granted." So says the old biographer. Others add (correctly or not) that the dispute with the priests was on the subject of the royal supremacy.

By his first wife Cecil had a son, Thomas, born the 5th of May 1542, the founder of the Exeter branch of the family; but the mother only survived to the 22d of February 1543 or 1544, in which latter year, her brother, John Cheke, came to Court from Cambridge to undertake the education of Prince Edward, and (together with Ascham) of Princess Elizabeth. Cecil did not long remain unmarried, his second choice

(December 21, 1545) being Mildred, one of the five learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, or Coke, of Gyddes Hall, Essex, one of Prince Edward's governors. One of the daughters, we have already seen, married Lord Russell; another became the wife of Cecil's College friend, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and mother of Lord Bacon. The accession of Edward VI. was followed (in the same year) by the reversion of the office of Custos Brevium falling in to Cecil, who estimates its value at about £240 per annum. He obtained, however, soon afterwards a much more valuable and important office, the Duke of Somerset appointing him the same year "Master of his Requests," an office new modelled, though not created, by the Protector. "The good intent thereof," says Strype, "was to hear poor men's petitions and suits," and as the Duke, on Cecil's request, sometimes sent letters to the Chancery in their favour, he ultimately brought on himself popular clamour for interfering with the course of justice. Of course the office soon became the only channel through which suitors could approach the Government or the Throne, and Cecil's position rose in proportion. He became deep in Somerset's counsels. Under September 1548, he has an entry in his journal,—"Cooptatus sum in officium Secretari." This has been by some supposed to mean Secretaryship of State; but it seems that it was simply the post of private secretary to the Lord Protector. Cecil took an active part at this time in the reformation of the discipline of the Universities, especially his own, Cambridge, and his colleague in this work was Sir John Cheke. When Somerset's weakness led to his fall, Cecil, however he may and

must have learnt to distrust his patron's ability, did not at once abandon him. He remained with him at Windsor till his arrest, when he himself also was first ordered to restraint in his own room, and then sent to the Tower; "Mense Novembris, 3 Edward VI. [1549], fui in Turre," he enters in his journal, so that his alleged imprisonment for three months is an exaggeration. After his release, considering his ties with Somerset as broken, Cecil made no scruple, on the 6th of September 1550, of accepting the post of Secretary of *State* in the new Government. He was in this new position—to which his knowledge and experience of State affairs no doubt rendered it essential for Dudley's Government to appoint him—when Somerset's conspiracy against Dudley was betrayed by Palmer. Somerset, counting on Cecil's former connection with him, sent for him to know if he was in any danger. Cecil replied, "that if he was not guilty he might be of good courage; if he was, he had nothing to say, but to lament him." The Duke, says King Edward in his journal, defied Cecil. The latter has been greatly censured for deserting his old patron; but nothing but the dictates of a romantic generosity, of which Cecil's nature was certainly incapable, could have called for his interference (a vain one it must have been!) in Somerset's behalf at this crisis. Somerset's Government had terminated in October 1549, eleven months before Cecil accepted office with Dudley. Thirteen months had elapsed since he thus became Secretary of State, and he had now certainly a duty towards Dudley to reconcile with his memory of Seymour. He had just (October 9, 1551) received the honour of knighthood, two days

before Dudley was created Duke of Northumberland. When he was appointed Secretary the King gave him an annuity of £100, in consideration of his office. He had also a grant of the rectory of Wimbledon in reversion for threescore years; and, fixing his residence there (as more convenient, doubtless, for business than Burghley), he had a dangerous illness there in May 1551. During the remainder of Edward's reign Sir William Cecil was actively engaged as Secretary in the various measures undertaken for the settlement of the Church, the liquidation of the King's debts, the improvement of the revenue, and the advancement of trade. He was also one of those to whose judgment Cranmer submitted the new Articles of Faith. Everything, however, whether good in itself or well intended, was subordinated to Northumberland's personal ambition and designs, and Cecil's post could not under these circumstances have been a very pleasant one, though an excellent school in politics. He paid, we are told, particular attention to the learned Protestant exiles who sought refuge in England during Edward's reign, and allied himself closely in matters of religion with Cranmer. He gained Edward's confidence in a high degree, so that, when the Princess Mary received one of her brother's letters, endeavouring to bring her to conformity with the reformed discipline, she observed, "Ah! good Mr Cecil took much pains here." In October 1551, we find registry of the following royal grants:—To Sir William Cecil and Lady Mildred his wife, and to the heirs of the said William, a gift of the manor of Berehamstow and Deeping, in Lincolnshire, and of the manor of Thetford Hall, in the same county; and

also of the reversion of the manor of Barondown, *alias* Wrangdike, in Rutland, granted to the Lady Elizabeth for life; also of the reversion of the manor of Leddington, in Rutland, granted to Gregory Lord Cromwell and Lady Elizabeth his wife during their lives; also the moiety of the rectory of Godstow, *alias* Walthamsted, with divers other lands, to the value of £152, 3s. 3¼d., to be holden *in capite* by the half part of a knight's fee. Northumberland's project to exclude the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, and place his own son, as the husband of Lady Jane Grey, at the head of the State, involved Cecil in great danger. It is quite against his natural character to suppose that he had any wish to see Dudley's idea carried into effect, but he had to deal with a man who would have destroyed without scruple any one who ventured to oppose his views openly. Cecil, like the rest, had to temporise, and he was compelled, like the rest, to sign Edward's disposition. He afterwards took credit for having used his best endeavours secretly to thwart Northumberland by encouraging others to resistance, and he is said to have long refused himself to sign the document, and only at last to have consented at the express desire of the King, saying at the time he signed that he did so only as a witness. Whether this be true or not, it is certain that he was pardoned by Mary on her accession, and even, it is said, offered or talked of for a State Secretaryship. This was certainly the most dangerous crisis of Cecil's life, and he so felt it to be such that he sent his money and plate out of London, made over his estates to his son, and carried arms about his person. But during the whole reign of

Mary, Cecil had scarcely a less difficult and dangerous game to play, and he played it with extraordinary dexterity. He conformed, indeed, to Catholicism, and kept a priest in his house. He thus escaped any dangers of martyrdom, for which he had no predilection. Yet he kept on good terms with the more ardent Protestants who had fled the kingdom, or who remained to abide the storm. He entered Parliament for the county of Lincoln, and for the next few years steered his course with marvellous craft and courage. He placed himself at the head of the Opposition in the Commons, yet retained Mary's favour, and the Queen even forgave the attention he paid to the Protestant heiress. All this while he was acting as secret adviser to Elizabeth, and when, on Mary's death, she was summoned to the throne, her first act before she left Hatfield House was to make Cecil her principal Secretary of State and first adviser, a position which, to the day of his death, forty years afterwards (4th of August 1598), he never lost. During that long period the action of Queen and Minister is completely merged, and it would be hard to say how far, even in the most private relations of life, the Queen and her great subject can be separated. There has been great difference of opinion respecting his character. Mr Froude seems from his introductory volumes on Elizabeth's reign to have formed a very high moral, as well as intellectual, conception of him. Macaulay is much less enthusiastic, and probably errs in the other direction,—but the main *tendencies* of his mind at least seem to be not unfairly grasped by the latter writer. "Lord Burghley," he says, "can hardly be called a great man. He was not one of

those whose genius and energy change the fate of empires. He was by nature and habit one of those who follow, not one of those who lead. Nothing that is recorded, either of his words or of his actions, indicates intellectual or moral elevation. But his talents, though not brilliant, were of an eminently useful kind; and his principles, though not inflexible, were not more relaxed than those of his associates and competitors. He had a cool temper, a sound judgment, great powers of application, and a constant eye to the main chance. . . . . To the last Burghley was somewhat jocose, and some of his sportive saying have been recorded by Bacon. They show much more shrewdness than generosity, and are indeed neatly expressed reasons for exacting money rigorously, and for keeping it carefully. It must, however, be acknowledged that he was rigorous and careful for the public advantage as well as for his own. . . . . He paid great attention to the interest of the State, and great attention also to the interest of his own family. He never deserted his friends till it was very inconvenient to stand by them, was an excellent Protestant when it was not very advantageous to be a Papist, recommended a tolerant policy to his mistress as strongly as he could recommend it without hazarding her favour; never put to the rack any person from whom it did not seem probable that useful information might be derived; and was so moderate in his desires that he left only three hundred distinct landed estates, though he might, as his honest servant assures us, have left much more if he would have taken money out of the Exchequer for his own use, as many Treasurers have done." Recent researches

in the State Paper Office and elsewhere have raised somewhat the standard, both intellectual and moral, here assigned to Burghley. They have shown that he *felt* (as well as judged) more strongly on questions of political principle and policy than Macaulay imagined; and that his caution, though excessive, did not prevent his sometimes warmly approving wider and bolder schemes; and that if his genius was not an originating one, he had more decided and more lasting preferences and antagonisms, both as respects opinions and persons, than seem to be implied in the brilliant essayist's portrait of him. In a letter to his "loving son, Sir Robert Cecil, Knight," he lays down the following as his *theory* of the law of obedience to Elizabeth:—"I do hold, and will always, this course in such matters as I differ in opinion from her Majesty. As long as I may be allowed to give advice, I will not change my opinion by affirming the contrary, for that were to offend God, to whom I am sworn first; but, as a servant, I will obey her Majesty's commandments, and nowise contrary to the same; presuming that, she being God's chief minister here, it shall be God's will to have her commandments obeyed; after that, I have performed my duty as a counsellor, and shall, in my heart, wish her commandments to have such good successes as I am sure she intendeth." Elizabeth appreciated this devotion. "No arts could shake the confidence she reposed in her old and trusty servant. The courtly graces of Leicester, the brilliant talents and accomplishments of Essex, touched the fancy, perhaps the heart, of the woman; but no rival could deprive the Treasurer of the place which he possessed in the favour of the

Queen. She sometimes chid him sharply, but he was the man whom she delighted to honour. For Burghley she forgot her usual parsimony, both of wealth and of dignities. For Burghley she relaxed that severe etiquette, to which she was unreasonably attached. Every other person to whom she addressed her speech, or on whom the glance of her eagle eye fell, instantly sank on his knee. For Burghley alone a chair was set in her presence, and there the old Minister, by birth only a plain Lincolnshire esquire, took his ease, while the haughty heirs of the Fitzalans and the De Veres humbled themselves to the dust around him. At length, having survived all his early coadjutors and rivals, he died full of years and honours. His royal mistress visited him on his deathbed, and cheered him with assurances of her affection and esteem; and his power passed with little diminution to a son who inherited his abilities, and whose mind had been formed by his counsels." Cecil was raised to the peerage as Baron of Burghley in February 1571, made a Knight of the Garter in June 1572, and Lord High Treasurer in the September following. He entertained the Queen at his house *twelve* several times, each visit costing him £2000 or £3000, Elizabeth staying there at his charge, sometimes three weeks, a month, or six weeks together, and sometimes making the house her court for the reception of strangers and ambassadors, and Burghley had to entertain the party with "rich shows, pleasant devices, and all manner of sports." He had four places of residence: his rooms at Court; his house in the Strand—"Cecil House," afterwards "Exeter Change;" his family seat at Burghley; and

his favourite seat at Theobalds, near Cheshunt and Waltham, in Hertfordshire. This Cheshunt estate he purchased March 15, 1570, from Mr Harrington. It was then a small moated house, and when Burghley began to rebuild it he did so at first on a small scale, intending it for his younger son (by his second wife), Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury; but owing to the Queen's frequent visits there he enlarged his plan of the building greatly. King James subsequently took such delight in the place as a hunting-seat, that he persuaded or obliged the younger Cecil to exchange it with him for HATFIELD HOUSE, in the same county, the present seat of the Salisbury branch of the Cecils. At his London house Burghley had fourscore persons in family, exclusive of those who attended him at Court. His expenses there were £30 per week in his absence, and between £40 and £50 when present. At Theobalds he had thirty persons in family, and besides a constant allowance in charity he directed £10 a-week to be laid out in keeping the poor at work in his gardens, &c. The expenses of his stables were 1000 marks (£666, 13s. 4d.) a-year. He kept a standing table for gentlemen, and two other tables for persons of meaner condition, which were always served alike whether he were in or out of town. About his person he had people of great distinction, and his domestic tells us that he could reckon up when he was in his service twenty gentlemen retainers who had each £1000 a-year, and as many among his ordinary servants who were worth from £1000 to £3000, £5000, £10,000, or £20,000. At his death he left about £4000 a-year in land, £11,000 in money, and in valuable effects about £14,000. By his second wife

Burghley had a numerous family, who all died young except a son Robert and two daughters (both of whom, as well as his second wife, he outlived)—one of whom, Anne, was married to Edward, thirteenth Earl of Oxford, the head of the De Veres, a bad man, but the "noblest subject in Europe." The separate estates of Lord Burghley named in the inquisition after death are too numerous to be here mentioned by name. They include manors in the counties of Northampton, Rutland, Lincoln, Essex, York, Hertford, Middlesex, and Kent. In his will he mentions the manor and castle of Essendon, in Rutland, as having been settled by his father, Richard Cecil, in Henry VIII.'s time, on him and his second wife Mildred and the heirs of their bodies, with remainder of the fee-simple to him and his heirs, and that his son Robert Cecil is heir-apparent to the same in tail especial, and he devises the same to Robert Cecil and his heirs, with remainder to the Countess of Oxford, and adds to it the adjoining property called Essendon Park, in the county of Lincoln. He also leaves to Robert Cecil property in Essex, Hertfordshire, and in Enfield, Edmonton, and Tottenham, in Middlesex; which, together with the Theobalds estate, constituted the substratum of the estates of the Salisbury branch. England need not grudge that property, at all events; for though the Cecils were and are a proud, astute race, rarely conciliating opinion, all their wealth is small payment for the success of Elizabeth's long reign, and the final establishment of the Protestant faith, with all its possibilities of advance.

On the death of the founder the Cecils split into two branches, the elder of which is deduced from Thomas Cecil, second Lord Burghley, a man of little

distinction, but prudent, and not deficient in understanding. He attached himself to a military life, was returned to Parliament for Stamford as soon as he came of age, and afterwards represented the counties of Lincoln and Northampton. In 1573 he was a volunteer in Sir William Drury's inroad into Scotland, and was at the siege and reduction of Edinburgh Castle. Maitland of Lethington, taken prisoner here, used young Cecil's mediation with his father to obtain Elizabeth's mercy, but without success. His mediator, it may be added, was very lukewarm, not to say hostile, in his preferment of the suit. Thomas Cecil was knighted by Elizabeth during her visit to Kenilworth in July 1575, and in 1581 was among her challengers at the jousts held at court in honour of the Duke d'Alençon's visit. In 1585 he joined the force sent to the Netherlands, and was appointed governor of the Brill (cautionary town). After rather more than two years' service in the Low Countries, he returned to England in time to join the English fleet, and share in the defeat of the Spanish Armada. On the 26th of May 1601 (having then succeeded as Lord Burghley) he was made a Knight of the Garter. On the accession of James I. he was sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Northamptonshire. He was also offered an Earldom, which at the time he refused, but afterwards accepted; and on the 4th of May 1605 a patent passed the Great Seal, creating him Earl of Exeter, his younger brother Robert being the same day elevated to a similar rank, with a special reservation of precedence of Thomas Cecil, which is said to have caused some ill-feeling between the brothers for a time. The Earl of Exeter chiefly lived in privacy, but in

1616 was appointed one of those who were to formally restore the cautionary towns to the States of Holland. In 1618 he was nominated with others to proceed against Jesuits and seminary priests, with authority to banish them the realm; and in 1620 he acted as Ecclesiastical Commissioner for the provinces of Canterbury and York. He founded and endowed an hospital at Lidington, in Rutland, and gave an estate to Clare Hall, Cambridge, for the maintenance of three fellows and eight scholars. He died February 7, 1622; and by his wife, Dorothy, daughter and coheir of John, Lord Latimir, had four sons, the third of whom, Sir Edward, became a military commander of some note in the Low Countries, and was created by Charles I. Baron Cecil of Putney (1625), and Viscount Wimbledon (1626), but died without issue male in 1638. Lord Wimbledon's eldest brother, William Cecil, who succeeded his father as second Earl of Exeter, had by his first wife, Elizabeth, only daughter and heir of Edward Manners, Earl of Rutland, an only son, William, who became, in right of his mother, Baron Roos. The second Earl of Exeter was a man of no prominence in public life, though he was sworn of King Charles's Privy Council. He died February 8, 1640. His son, Lord Roos, had preceded him to the grave, June 27, 1618. This Lord Roos married, in 1616, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Lake of Cannons, Middlesex, and was falsely accused by her and her mother of incestuous intercourse with his grandfather's second wife, Frances, Countess of Exeter, and daughter of William Brydges, fourth Lord Chandos—a lady thirty-eight years younger than her husband. King James took great interest in the accusation, and prided himself much on

his acuteness in detecting the conspiracy of the Lakes, who were disgraced and punished. Lord Roos dying without issue, the Barony of Roos went back to the Manners family; and on his father's death the Earldom of Exeter devolved on David Cecil, son of Sir Richard Cecil, next brother of the second Earl; the estate being, however, much diminished in his person by the portions allotted to the three daughters and coheiresses of the second Earl by a second marriage, and the dowers of his grandfather's and uncle's widows. This third Earl adhered to the Parliament in the civil struggle, and offered £500 for raising horse for their service. His estates suffered much during the contest, Burghley House being taken and garrisoned by the Cavaliers till retaken by Cromwell. The Earl himself died in London, April 15, 1643, leaving his young heir John, fourth Earl of Exeter, a lad of fifteen (with two other sons and a daughter, Frances, afterwards the wife of Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper, first Earl of Shaftesbury), to the guardianship of his widow, Elizabeth, daughter of John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater, a woman of spirit and understanding, who maintained the political principles of her husband, and was indemnified by the Parliament for her losses in their cause. Her eldest son, after the Restoration, was appointed (in July 1662) Lord-Lieutenant of Northamptonshire, but makes no figure in public affairs, and died March 18, 1688. His son and successor, also a John, fifth Earl, was a strong Jacobite, and spent his life, after the Revolution, in retirement in the country or in foreign travel. He never took the oaths to the Revolution Government; and when King William, in 1695, visited Stamford in one of his progresses, con-

trived to be absent in London, though he left directions for the King's hospitable entertainment at Burghley House, the beauty of which greatly delighted that prince. The Earl died near Paris, August 29, 1700, on his return from Rome, where he had been to the jubilee, though he died a professed member of the Church of England. He had married a sister of the first Duke of Devonshire, and was succeeded by his eldest son by her, John, sixth Earl, who represented the county of Rutland in Parliament in 1695 and 1698, and was made Lord-Lieutenant of Rutland in 1712. He was twice married—first to a daughter of Bennet, Lord Ossalston (with whom he had a fortune of £30,000), by whom he had no issue, and secondly to Elizabeth, eldest daughter and one of the coheirs of Sir John Brownlow, Baronet, of Belton, Lincolnshire. He died December 24, 1721, and was succeeded as seventh Earl by his eldest son, John, who died unmarried, August 9, 1722, his brother Brownlow succeeding as eighth Earl, and dying November 3, 1754, when *his* eldest son, also Brownlow, became ninth Earl. He had served in Parliament for Stamford and for Rutland, and in 1752 was made Lord-Lieutenant of that county, and was a member of the Royal Society. He died without issue, December 26, 1793, and was succeeded as tenth Earl of Exeter by his nephew, Henry, who had been Member for Stamford, and who, on February 4, 1801, was advanced to the dignity of Marquess. He died May 1, 1804, and was succeeded as eleventh Earl and second Marquess of Exeter, by Brownlow, his eldest son by his second wife, Miss Sarah Hoggins. He is a Tory, but this house has never had any other place in the country beyond that

which appertains to every considerable landholder of good birth, and their only historical interest lies in their representing in direct descent Elizabeth's great statesman.

We now turn to the story of the younger and greater branch of the Cecils. Robert Cecil, second son of the founder, a statesman of the first rank, was a sickly, deformed, and dwarfish man, who for years could not bring himself to face mankind. He was, however, on board the fleet which defeated the Armada, and his father seems early to have perceived his great ability. On the death of Walsingham in 1590, Lord Burghley induced Elizabeth to leave the Chief Secretaryship unfilled, promising to fulfil its duties with the aid of Robert Cecil, who thus obtained a training which in 1596 ended in his appointment to the post, to the extreme indignation of Essex. In 1598, Cecil, after helping to negotiate the peace of Vervins between France and Spain, succeeded his father as Elizabeth's chief adviser—a position he retained for the rest of her life. This promotion bitterly irritated Essex, and the contrast between the two men has been admirably delineated by Mr John Bruce, in his preface to the correspondence of Cecil with James of Scotland. After referring to the great contrast in their personal appearance and bearing, he observes, "that Essex was what in those days was termed 'full of humours,' wayward, uncertain, impatient, fantastic, capricious; acting by fits and starts, upon impulses and prejudices; but ever with a dash and brilliancy that were nearly allied to genius. Sir Robert Cecil was his very contrary in all these respects. Brought up at the feet of his pre-eminent father, he acquired, per-

haps inherited, *the highest official qualities*, a calm, quiet, patient thoughtfulness, the power of mastering and applying details, however intricate; diligence that was never weary, patience that could not be exhausted, temper that was seldom ruffled, and a habit of comparing, and sifting, and weighing, and balancing, which generally led him to right conclusions. Essex was generous in the highest degree, a patron of literature and of all noble and gentle arts, and ever ready to take the lead in kind and liberal deeds; he was at the same time impetuous, fiery, vehement,—a man of action, courageous, daring, and more than anything delighted with military command and all the *éclat* and brilliancy of a soldier's life. Cecil was a man of thought, and law, and peace—neither a soldier himself, nor looking upon war in any shape save as a necessity to be deplored. Consciousness of his own physical defects kept the one man comparatively humble; consciousness of his own power of dazzling and attracting people, and of attaching them to himself, puffed up the other, and led him into continual extravagances." "Sound judgment in the transaction of business was Cecil's greatest quality, and after a few years' experience of his eminent ability in that respect, there not only gathered round him a knot of cultivated public men, but the people came to look upon him as a man to be safely trusted and confidently followed." Cecil, further, says Mr Bruce, was loyal to his very heart, but he was early suspected of Spanish leanings, and when Essex, maddened by the Queen's continued coldness, rose in arms in London, a most extraordinary scene took place between him and Cecil. Essex, on his trial, asserted in open Court that he had been told that Sir Robert

Cecil had said to one of his fellow-councillors that the Infanta's title* was as good as that of any other person. "On the instant, Cecil, who had been sitting within earshot, but in some place where he was hidden from observation, stepped forth into the open Court, and dropping on one knee, begged leave 'to answer 'so foul and false a report.'" The Lord Steward and the Peers made light of Essex's accusation, but Cecil persisted, and "in a speech of vehement eloquence" challenged Essex to name the councillor to whom he was stated to have spoken these words. "Name him, if you dare; if you do not name him, it must be believed a fiction!" Essex turned to Southampton, and appealed to him as having heard the accusation as well as himself. "Cecil appealed to Southampton by all the love and friendship that had been between them from their tender years, by the honour of his party and house, and by his Christian profession, to name the suggested councillor," and at length Southampton named Sir William Knollys, uncle of Essex, and Comptroller of the Household. At Cecil's request he was immediately sent for, the messenger being charged by Cecil, "as he was a gentleman," not to inform Knollys why he was sent for, and sending a passionate message to the Queen, that if out of regard to Cecil's reputation or her love of Knollys (her relative through the Boleyns) she denied to send him, he, Cecil, vowed on his salvation he would never serve her again as a councillor while he lived. Knollys,

* This title rested on three descents—1. From Constance, eldest daughter of William the Conqueror (Henry I. forfeiting by usurpation); 2. From Ellen, eldest daughter of Henry II. (John forfeiting by usurpation); 3. From Beatrix, daughter of Henry III. (the houses of York and Lancaster forfeiting by attainder).

on appearing in Court, replied in answer to the Lord Steward's question that "he never heard Cecil speak any words to that effect." According to him, Cecil, speaking of Doleman's book in favour of the Infanta's claim, observed, "Is it not strange impudence in that Doleman to give an equal right in the succession to the Crown to the Infanta of Spain as any other?" Doleman had dedicated his book to Essex. On this evidence Essex observed that he had understood Knollys in a very different sense, and apologised for his misunderstanding. "Your misunderstanding arose," exclaimed Cecil, "from your opposition to peace. It was your ambition that every military man should look up to you as his patron, and hence you sought to represent me and the councillors who wished to put an end to the war as the pensioners of Spain." "I confess I have said," continued Cecil, "that the King of Spain is a competitor of the Crown of England, and that the King of Scots is a competitor, and my Lord of Essex, I have said, is a competitor, for he would depose the Queen, and call a Parliament, and so be a king himself; but as to my affection to advance the Spanish title to England, I am so far from it that my mind is astonished to think of it, and I pray God to consume me where I stand if I hate not the Spaniard as much as any man living!"

King James at first greatly regretted Essex's death. He called him his martyr, and expressed himself strongly against Cecil, whom he still regarded as his own enemy. He instructed his ambassador, Mar, accordingly, assuming a most arrogant and threatening tone towards not only Cecil but the Queen, being misled by his own self-conceit and by Essex's representations

of the unpopularity of the Government. But Mar soon saw the real state of things, and made friendly overtures to Cecil, which were received in the same spirit, and at last a secret understanding was arrived at, Cecil stating explicitly the terms on which he would secure the succession of James. "These were, that an absolute respect should be paid to the feelings of the Queen, and therefore that there should be a cessation of all endeavours on the part of King James to procure any Parliamentary or other recognition of his right to the succession; that all intercourse between Cecil and the King should be kept an inviolable secret, so that it might never reach the ears of the Queen, with whom it would be a subject of misconstruction and an occasion of the deepest offence against both parties." A plan of secret correspondence and a system of ciphers were agreed upon, and for the rest of Elizabeth's reign regularly carried out; though James's own indiscretion frequently imperilled the secret, and once at least the Queen is said to have been, through an accident, on the point of discovering the fact, though Cecil's adroitness averted the danger. He had also great difficulty in preventing the fussy and impatient James from anticipating the slow and sure method agreed on, and breaking through the compact by private intrigues of his own. On the whole, however, Cecil in this manner secured not only to Elizabeth an almost perfect freedom from trouble on the succession point for the rest of her days, but, to use his own metaphor, "steered King James's ship into the right harbour, without cross of wave or tide that could have overturned a cock-boat." Everything was prepared by

Cecil, as the crisis approached, to prevent any confusion or dispute. He even drew up the intended proclamation of the new King, and forwarded a copy of it to James. At the same time he attended assiduously on the Queen's dying hours, and not only guarded against sinister influences being used by others, but endeavoured to persuade her to undress and try to obtain some rest. She was talking wildly, and sitting with her eyes wide open and fixed earnestly on the ground. Cecil asked her if she saw spirits? She smiled contemptuously, and said the question was not worthy an answer. At last he said she *must* go to bed, if it were only to satisfy her people. "*Must!*" said she; "is *must* a word to be addressed to Princes? Ah! little man, little man! thy father, had he been alive, durst not have used that word; but thou art presumptuous because thou knowest I shall die." She also frequently declared to him that she was not mad, and that he must not think to make Queen Joan of her. Whether she ever named her successor remains a disputed point. Cecil and the Lords present maintained that she made a distinct gesture implying that James was to succeed her. The ladies in attendance assert, that her last reference to the matter was an exclamation, "I will have no rascal's son in my seat." She had previously said, "My seat has been the seat of kings, and none but a king must succeed me;" so that the probability seems to be that she alluded in the expression "rascal's son" to the claims of the Suffolk line and the Earl of Huntingdon, and not to any doubt as to the paternity of James Stuart. Cecil has been strongly reflected upon for this underhand dealing with the successor to

the Crown while acting as Minister to the Queen; but the interests of the country surely justified him in so doing. The secrecy was really an act of consideration to Elizabeth, and except in the unlucky slip of the word "*must*," there is no evidence that Cecil ever failed in his respect or duty to the Queen, or truckled to James during her lifetime, while he certainly prevented that foolish Prince from seriously annoying the Queen, if not provoking by his intrigues a hostile declaration from her. Whatever were the moral defects, and however cold and crafty the natures of both Burghley and Robert Cecil, they certainly had one virtue, that of a sense of duty to king and nation very similar in tone to that so remarkably displayed in the late Duke of Wellington, and one qualification for ruling, the possession of "the highest kind of *official*" genius.

The accession of James brought with it to Cecil a great increase of honours, but many drawbacks to these in the character and policy of the new King. On the 13th of May 1603 he was created Baron Cecil, of Essendon, in Rutland; on the 20th of August 1604, Viscount Cranborne, in Dorsetshire; on the 4th of May 1605, Earl of Salisbury; and on the 20th of the same month was installed a Knight of the Garter. He was also elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and on the 4th of May 1608, on the death of the Earl of Dorset, he was appointed to succeed him as Lord Treasurer. But Cecil had now to serve a very different master from Elizabeth, and though he enjoyed in many respects greater freedom of action, and had less need of careful observance so far as personal intercourse with the sovereign was concerned,—the King's favourites and amusements absorbing most of

his time, and leaving the Minister tolerably free in his administrative duties, and his familiar manners presenting a curious contrast to the ceremoniousness exacted by Elizabeth,—yet Cecil soon found reason to say, in reply to some one who congratulated him on not having now to speak to his sovereign kneeling, "Would to God that I still spoke on my knees!" Too cautious and pliant in his disposition to directly oppose, too sagacious and patriotic to approve of, the King's Spanish tendencies, unable to check or control the lavish expenditure of the Court and the peculations of favourites, Cecil was compelled to resist and protest by circuitous and measured means, and to struggle hard and incessantly against every new symptom of royal predilections and royal extravagance. The *vis inertiæ* of his passive resistance did restrain to some extent the mischievous course on which the new line of kings were entering, and during his lifetime the foreign policy of James was not nearly so abject as it afterwards became, nor his home government so hopelessly corrupt. But the struggle was too much for the strength of the Minister, and the results too small to compensate for the perception which he could not escape from, that England was fast sinking from the high position she had occupied during the reign of Elizabeth. His anxieties were greatly increased by transactions of which he alone knew, but which were discovered by Digby, Ambassador to Madrid, two years after Cecil's death. That able envoy ascertained that Cecil had been in Spanish pay from 1604, receiving first 4000 crowns, then 6000 a-year, and then heavy separate sums. No explanation has ever been offered of the

facts, for Cecil was and continued bitterly anti-Spanish, and but two solutions are possible: either Cecil was paid for information and not service, or he anticipated Danby's part, and received the money for the King, who, like Charles II., was in foreign pay. In 1611 his health began to give way, and at length his disease assumed the form of pulmonary consumption. In its last stage he tried the waters of Bath, but without effect, and died on his return thence on the 24th of May 1612 at Masbrough. He had the misfortune to become the deadly enemy in succession of two popular favourites,—Essex and Raleigh.* The latter had united with him against Essex, and had endeavoured in the most earnest manner to nerve him to proceed to extremities against the Earl; but after Essex's death became as much opposed to Cecil himself. Full of animosity to the latter, and ignorant of his secret services to James, Raleigh had presented to the new sovereign on his arrival in England a memorial full of bitter reflections on Cecil, charging him with the ruin of Essex, and Burghley with the death of the Queen of Scots. By this injudicious and indefensible attack Raleigh destroyed the only obstacle which could have stood in the way of the ruin planned against him by the revengeful Court of Spain. It is not easy to assign to Cecil the right mean of praise and censure in this and other matters. His disposition was not one in which generosity would be allowed to preponderate against prudence and policy; but though

* Essex was a popular hero in his own times much more than he is in the present; Raleigh, who is the modern favourite, was most unpopular in his own day, and only appreciated and regretted by a select class of learned men and adventurous spirits. Cecil was appreciated by princes and statesmen only.

he did not attain or retain even the standard of his father in point of moral principle, Robert Cecil stands far above and widely distinguished from the herd of Stuart courtiers and favourites by whom he was surrounded and thwarted in his latter days; and if he too often stooped to duplicity and meanness, he always meant well in a broad sense to his country, and actually performed great services to her. The Earl of Dorset, his predecessor in the Treasurership, after bequeathing in his will to Cecil several jewels of great value, proceeds in the same document to bear the strongest testimony to the public services and private character of his friend—"of whose excelling virtues and sweet conditions," he says, "so well known to me, in respect of our long communication by so many years in true love and friendship together, I am desirous to leave some grateful remembrance in this my last will and testament; that since the living speech of my tongue when I am gone from hence must cease and speak no more, that yet the living speech of my pen, which never dieth, may herein thus for ever truly testify and declare the same." It is only fair to Cecil to give him the benefit of this dying testimony to his character; but we believe we can give our readers a shorter, yet accurate idea of his character. He was Warren Hastings as described by Macaulay embittered by personal deformities. We have already spoken of the exchange made by him of Theobalds for Hatfield. This was in the fifth year of King James's reign, and in 1611 he had finished a pile at the latter place equal in magnificence to Burghley House. He had also several grants of lands, &c., from the King, but his comparative moderation in this

respect is praised by some writers. He married Elizabeth, the daughter of William and sister of Henry Brooke, Lords Cobham, and by her had a daughter married to the Earl of Cumberland, and an only son, William, who succeeded him as second Earl of Salisbury. Lord Clarendon is very bitter in his account of this latter Earl's character, the secret of which is that Salisbury eventually adopted and adhered to the popular side in the Civil War. He was not a man of any great ability, though not deficient in understanding. He had the cautious disposition of his family, and his early connection with the Court led him to acquiesce in the measures of Charles for some time without making any decided stand. But by degrees it became understood that he leant to the popular side, and after the meeting of the Long Parliament he voted regularly with Pym's party until the rupture with the King. Then, as if the old Cecil sense of loyalty had revived, he accompanied the King to York, but almost immediately afterwards, and before the raising of the Royal Standard, finding by what associates he was surrounded, he hastily returned to London, and thenceforth never swerved in his adherence to the Parliament, joining the Independent party, acting with Fairfax and Cromwell; and although not assenting to the King's trial, recognising the Commonwealth, entering the House of Commons as a simple M.P. (not sinking his titles), and sitting more than one year in the Council of State. During Cromwell's protectorate he represented Hertfordshire in Parliament from 1654 to 1658, and died December 3, 1668, aged seventy-eight. He was prominent in all the councils of the Long Parliament, and, to whatever

motive we may ascribe his actions, was practically a consistent patriot. He married, in 1608, Lady Catherine Howard, youngest daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, and sister of the abandoned Countess of Essex and Somerset. His eldest son by her who lived to years of discretion, Charles, Viscount Cranborne, was made a Knight of the Bath, and sat in the Long Parliament, adhering to the Presbyterian party. He died before his father, in 1659, leaving several sons, the eldest of whom, James, succeeded his grandfather as third Earl of Salisbury. The second son of the second Earl, Robert Cecil, also sat in the Long Parliament, and adhered to the Independent party. The eldest daughter, Lady Anne Cecil, born in 1612, married Algernon, Lord Percy, eldest son of and afterwards the Earl of Northumberland—"a wife," says Osborne, "out of the family of Salisbury, whose blood the father said would not mingle in a basin, so averse was he from it."

James, third Earl of Salisbury, whose mother was daughter and coheir to James Maxwell, Earl of Dirleton, in Scotland, was educated at St John's, Cambridge, and excited great hopes in his contemporaries there, by his "loyalty, generosity, and affability," that he would "advance the ancient and noble name of Cecil to the utmost period of glory." His career, however, though creditable, was not brilliant or long. He strenuously opposed the Duke of York, both within the House of Lords and out of doors, and on January 3, 1676, was sworn of the Privy Council. On the 31st of August 1680 he was elected Knight of the Garter, but died in June 1683. He was succeeded by his son James, fourth Earl of Salisbury, who became a convert to Roman Catholicism under James II.'s

influence. Macaulay gives the following portrait of him:—"Salisbury was foolish to a proverb. His figure was so bloated by sensual indulgence as to be almost incapable of moving, and this sluggish body was the abode of an equally sluggish mind. He was represented in popular lampoons as a man made to be duped—as a man who had hitherto been the prey of gamesters, and who might as well be the prey of friars. A pasquinade which, about the time of Rochester's retirement, was fixed on the door of Salisbury House in the Strand, described in coarse terms the horror with which the wise Robert Cecil, if he could rise from his grave, would see to what a creature his honours had descended." In the rejoicings in London after the acquittal of the bishops, bonfires were lighted in front of the houses of the leading Catholics. Lord Arundell of Wardour had the wisdom to quiet the mob by money, but at Salisbury House the Earl's servants "sallied out and fired, but they killed only the unfortunate beadle of the parish, who had come thither to put out the fire, and they were soon routed, and driven back into the house." In the crisis of the Revolution, just after the flight of the Princess Anne, the grand jury of Middlesex found a bill against the Earl for turning Papist. After the Revolution was accomplished, and William King, the House of Commons resolved that Salisbury and Peterborough by joining the Church of Rome had committed high treason, and that both should be impeached. Salisbury accordingly was brought to the bar of the Lords, and after pleading in mitigation his youth and foreign education, was sent to the Tower, but the prosecution was soon dropped, and Salisbury lived unmolested till

1692, when he became involved in a charge of conspiring to restore James II. This charge originated in a forged document drawn up by Robert Young, binding those who subscribed it to take arms for James, and seize on the Prince of Orange, dead or alive. Young appended to this the names of Marlborough, Cornbury, *Salisbury*, Seacroft, and Sprat. The forgery was soon exploded, and Young was pilloried and severely pelted by the mob. He ultimately was hanged for coining. This closed Salisbury's unlucky public career. He died December 1694, having married Frances, one of the three daughters and coheirs of Simon Bennet, Esq., of Beechampton, Bucks, and left by her an only son, James, fifth Earl of Salisbury, who, on August 18, 1712, was made Lord-Lieutenant of Hertfordshire, and carried St Edmund's staff at the coronation of George I. He made no figure in politics, and died at the age of thirty-seven, October 9, 1728, leaving by his wife, Lady Anne Tufton, second daughter and coheir of Thomas, Earl of Thanet (through whom the Salisburys became one of the coheirs of the dormant Barony of Ogle), a son, James, who succeeded him as sixth Earl of Salisbury, and who died September 19, 1780, and was succeeded by his only son, James, seventh Earl of Salisbury, who was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Herts, and represented Bedwin in Parliament before his father's death. In 1783, on the formation of Pitt's Ministry, he was appointed Lord Chamberlain, and held that office till 1804. As one of the constant supporters of that Minister, he was, August 18, 1789, raised to the dignity of Marquess of Salisbury, and in 1793 made a Knight of the Garter. He died June 13, 1823, leaving a widow, Mary

Amelia, daughter of the first Marquess of Downshire, who was burnt to death with the west wing of Hatfield House, November 27, 1835. He was succeeded by his son, James Brownlow William, second and present Marquess of Salisbury, who prefixed the name of Gascoyne to that of Cecil on his first marriage with Frances Mary, daughter and heiress of Bamber Gascoyne, Esq., of Childwell Hall, Lancashire, a large landed proprietor, who had possessions also at Havering, Ilford, &c., in Essex. This marriage, together with the careful management of the present Marquess, has somewhat restored the family fortune, which had been seriously impaired by the extravagant habits of the first Marquess. The Marquess married again in 1847 a daughter of the Earl of Delawarr, and has a family by both marriages. He is a strong Conservative, and has been an active member of Cabinets of that complexion as President of the Council. He is also an active county administrator, and in this capacity is said to display much of the shrewd dexterity of his two great ancestors. His eldest son, James, Viscount Cranborne, a man of some literary ability, labours under the affliction of loss of sight, and the family credit is now chiefly sustained in public life by the second son, Lord Robert Cecil, M.P., who displays much of the family astuteness.

On the whole, the Cecils, though their qualities have never been such as to win much public regard, have deserved well of the people, the descendant of the man who made Elizabeth great having staked fortune and life on the side of liberty, while the family, with all its shortcomings, has consistently cared for the greatness of England.

The Villiers.

E are among a new race, a family who, though aristocrats *pur sang*, have that originality which it is the curse of aristocracies to lack. Pedigree does not destroy character, or character would not be so *bizarre* among Jews and Kings; but great property seems to steady its possessors too much, to indispose them too entirely towards experiments in life. There is no family in our list with which we can compare the Villiers, for the light-hearted, light-principled Poitevins and Gascons who were the favourites of the Plantagenets, have left no lineal descendants. They resemble rather some families in France, say the Richelieus, in which many and great capacities were wasted for want of some great idea, some governing habit or thought. Squires of some degree for ages, the Villiers suddenly emerged as courtiers, favourites, conspicuous statesmen, and as such they have remained, never obscure, never belonging to the class Englishmen regard with pride, but marked for generations by their accomplishments, their profligacy, and a certain profuseness of expenditure. They have had half-a-dozen peerages, but the very memory of the Lords of Pur-

beck, and Coventry, and Daventry, has disappeared, and they have now but two, one of which, however, seats two brothers in the Cabinet. Their pedigree is a good one, being traceable fairly up to Henry III., perhaps to the first Plantagenet. Their name occurs in documents of the time of the Conqueror, but there is nothing to connect this family in lineal descent with its possessors. They claim to belong to the race of Villiers in Normandy, from which sprang Pierre de Villiers, Grand Master in the reign of Charles VI., and Jacques de Villiers, Provost of Paris and Mareschal of France in the same period; and they may be so descended, but there is no proof of the fact. The first man of any mark undoubtedly belonging to their line, is ALEXANDER DE VILLIERS, who, in 1235, paid one mark for half a knight's fee, which he held under the Countess of Chester in Brooksby, Leicestershire, towards the marriage of the King's sister. His eldest son, who succeeded him at Brooksby, and at Rigsby, in Lincolnshire, was Sir Richard, who fought with Edward I. in the Holy Land, and assumed, with reference thereto, the Cross of St George and five escallop-shells as his arms, which are the present Jersey arms. His grandson, Sir Francis de Villiers, was with Edward III. in his wars, and is styled by him after his death "of cherished memory." His brother Geoffrey, who continued the line at Brooksby, was one of the Knights of the Shire for the county of Leicester in the 26th of Edward III. In the reign of Henry VII., Sir John Villiers, of Brooksby, fought with great bravery at the battle of Stoke, against the Earl of Lincoln and Lambert Simnel, and in the 6th of that reign was esquire for the body to the King.

He was Sheriff of Lincolnshire and Warwickshire, was made a Knight of the Bath at the marriage of Prince Arthur in 1501, and died in 1506. His eldest son, Sir John, who served as Sheriff for Leicestershire and Warwickshire, in Henry VIII.'s reign, settled the manors of Brooksby, Howby, and Siwolby on himself in tail male, and in default on his brothers in succession. His Lincolnshire property he left to his daughter. He died in December 1544. His next brother, George, died in August 1546, possessed of the above entailed property and of the manor of Burstal. He left a son, who died unmarried in 1558, and a daughter who died without issue, so that Thomas, the third brother, succeeded in the family property, who leaving only a daughter, the entailed property came to William Villiers, his brother, who married the heiress of Richard Clarke, of Bucks. He died in November 1558, and by the inquisition taken after his death, it appears he died possessed of Brooksby, Howby, and 40 messuages, 20 cottages, 20 tofts, 2 water-mills, 1000 acres of land, 500 of meadow, 2000 of pasture and other lands, &c., in Brooksby, Howby, and Siwolby, in Leicestershire, with the advowson of the churches of Brooksby and Howby, left by his father, and entailed as before said, and, under the settlement of his uncle Christopher, the manors of Kelby and Great Bowden, and lands in Harborough. His son and heir, Sir George Villiers, was Sheriff of Leicestershire in 1591, and was knighted. He died January 4, 1606, having married first Audrey, daughter and heiress of William Sanders, of Harrington, in Northamptonshire, by whom he had three daughters and two sons, Sir William Villiers, and Sir Edward Villiers, President of Munster, and ancestor of

the Viscounts Grandison and of the Earls of Jersey and Clarendon. The second wife of Sir George Villiers was Mary, daughter of Anthony Beaumont, of Glenfield, Leicestershire—a lady of good family, but who, being without means, had been brought up in a dependent position in the family of a wealthy branch of the Beaumonts. She afterwards was created Countess of Buckingham, and died in April 1632. By her Sir George Villiers left a daughter, Susan, married to William Feilding, Earl of Denbigh—ancestor of the present Earl—and three sons, John, created Baron Villiers of Stoke and Viscount Purbeck, June 19, 1619; George, the celebrated Duke of Buckingham; and Christopher, who, on September 24, 1623, was created Baron of Daventry and Earl of Anglesea, and whose son, Charles, second Earl of Anglesea, died without issue in 1659.

It will be most convenient to dispose first of those branches of the family of Sir George Villiers which have died out. Sir George left his principal property in Leicestershire to his first wife and her issue, and the tithes of Cadewell and Wikeham, in the same county, to his sons by his second wife and their heirs male, with remainder to his own right heirs. His eldest son by the first marriage, Sir William Villiers, who succeeded him at Brooksby, was Sheriff of Leicestershire in the 6th James I., and was created a baronet July 19, 1619. His baronetcy became extinct February 27, 1711, on the death of his grandson, Sir William Villiers, Bart., who had sold Brooksby to Sir Nathan Wright, the rest of his property passing to his two nieces. The history of the branch of John Villiers, eldest son of the second marriage of Sir George, and

elder full-brother of the Duke of Buckingham, is remarkable in the extreme. This John, we have said, was created Viscount Purbeck. He was twice married; first to Frances, daughter of Sir Edward Coke, by his second wife, Lady Hatton; and secondly, to a daughter of Sir Thomas Slingsby, of Yorkshire. His first wife was accused of adultery with Sir Robert Howard, and being separated from her husband, gave birth to a son (in 1624), at Somerset House, who bore at first the name of Robert *Wright*. She was proceeded against for adultery in the High Commission Court, as well as Sir Robert Howard. Laud pronounced sentence against both, and ordered the lady to perform public penance, to avoid which she concealed herself. In 1640 Sir Robert Howard obtained a judgment of £500 against Laud for his sentence on him. There can be no doubt the whole matter had assumed a public character, in which the Villiers' interest was promoted by the Court against the popular Sir Edward Coke's daughter. Lady Purbeck was cast off by her husband, but was never divorced, and her son, consequently, being born in wedlock, remained legitimate. This Robert was a man of strange unsettled ideas. Brought up as a Roman Catholic, and, while still under age, entering the Royal army in the commencement of the Civil Wars, he had for his gallantry the command of a regiment of dragoons given to him. But in 1645 he abandoned that cause, came in to the Parliament quarters, and obtaining a certificate as to his religious faith from Mr Marshall, the Minister, professed strong anti-Royalist sentiments, extending to republicanism. He married, in November 1648, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir John Danvers,

brother of Henry, Earl of Danby (of that family), one of the High Court of Justice on Charles I., and Robert Villiers himself publicly applauded the execution of the King. He professed the greatest hatred to the family of the Villiers, and took the name of Danvers instead. He seems, however, never to have quite cleared up his position either as to politics or religion, and when he obtained a seat in Richard Cromwell's Parliament of 1659 for Westbury, in Wilts (as was alleged, by gross bribery and treating), a petition was presented against his sitting in the House, on the ground of his being a Papist and a Cavalier. In the investigation before the House which ensued, he equivocated and contradicted himself and the proved facts so grossly, that he was expelled. Ludlow says this was done by the "Court" party, to revenge the similar expulsion of one of the Republican party. The first Lord Purbeck, his nominal father, died in 1657; but Robert *Danvers* refused to assume the title, and destroyed the enrolment of the patent of peerage. In 1660, when he was called to his place as a peer, he denied the peerage, and said the King had given him leave to surrender it by levying a fine of it. But in 1678 the Lords, after argument of the case, declared the surrender illegal. He retired first to his estate of Siluria, in the parish of Knighton, Radnorshire, and afterwards to France, to avoid his creditors, and died at Calais in 1675. He left two sons, Robert and Edward. Robert, third Viscount Purbeck, laid claim to the title of Earl of Buckingham (but the patent to his great-grandmother was only for life), and married Margaret, widow of Lord Muskerry, and daughter of the Earl of Clanricarde, with whom he obtained the

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estates of Tunbridge and Somerhill, in Kent,—but he wasted all his property, a family habit for generations, and retiring abroad to avoid his creditors, was killed in a duel at Liège in 1684. He left a son, John, who was educated at Eton, fell into debauchery in that place, and associated with gamblers. He cohabited early in life with Frances, the widow of Mr Heneage, of the well-known Lincolnshire family of that name, and afterwards married her for her large jointure, having spent his own fortune entirely on her. He petitioned the King in 1720 for the Earldom of Buckingham, but died in 1723, leaving only two daughters, who had followed their mother's example, and fallen into the lowest grades of profligacy. One of them died in 1786 in an obscure lodging in London. Edward Villiers, second son of Robert *Danvers*, entered the army, and obtained a company of foot. He married respectably, and died in 1691, leaving a son, George, educated at Westminster School and Christchurch, who went into the Church, claimed the Earldom of Buckingham, the will o' the wisp of his race, unsuccessfully, and left a son, George, who died without issue in 1774, another son, who died single, and a daughter, who married Dr John Lewis, Dean of Ossory, and their son assumed the name of Villiers.

We now come to George Villiers, second son of Sir George Villiers of Brooksby, and the celebrated favourite of James I. and Charles I., who built the fortunes of all his brothers. We need do little more than refer to the leading points in his career, as his life forms a part of our national history, and as such is familiar to every one. He was born at Brooksby, August 28, 1592, and lost his father when he was between thirteen and four-

teen years of age. His mother being then left with a small jointure, and three sons and a daughter to support out of the comparatively slender provision made for them by their father—the family estates passing to the sons by the former marriage—resolved to prepare her second and favourite son George for a career at Court, and accordingly, while neglecting altogether all regular solid education for him, took care that he should be trained in all the brilliant and showy accomplishments of the day, both mental and bodily. She then sent him to complete this sort of education in foreign travel. On his return from abroad—with £50 a-year as his sole provision in life—he started on his eventful career. In the beginning of August 1614, when he was just completing his twenty-second year, George Villiers first presented himself before the King at Apthorpe. The beauty of his personal appearance was throughout his life the theme of admiration, not only of courtiers but of grave scholars and antiquaries, and the fascination of his manners, at this time remarkable for their modesty as well as grace and courtesy, won all who approached him. No wonder, then, that King James was strongly attracted by him, and there was a large party at Court who were eagerly desirous of putting him forward as a rival to the reigning favourite, Carre, Earl of Somerset. James was getting tired of Carre, who had become gloomy, morose, and insolent since the death of Overbury in the Tower, but he dared not at first throw off the old yoke. He had also an odd and characteristic system of never admitting any one to the place of favourite without the previous assent and application in their favour of the Queen, so that in case of her becoming jealous of them

he might be able to retort on her that they had been recommended by her. It was necessary therefore to gain the Queen, and this was done with some difficulty by Archbishop Abbot, who thought to raise up a Protestant champion in place of the Spanish Carre in the person of young Villiers, little foreseeing he was preparing in so doing his own downfall. At last, after a curious Court intrigue, the cause of Villiers triumphed. He was made Gentleman of the Bedchamber, was knighted, and had a pension given him of £1000 a-year.

Somerset's fortunes were now rapidly sinking, but James, ever timid,—and much in his old favourite's power as to State, if not other secrets,—is said to have made one attempt at least to try and soothe Somerset's angry jealousy. He ordered Villiers to wait on his rival, and request him to take him under his protection. "I will none of your service," was the old favourite's reply, "and you shall none of my favour. I will, if I can, break your neck, and of that be confident." But the discovery that Overbury had been murdered by the Countess, if not by the Earl of Somerset, gave the *coup de grâce* to the latter's fortunes, and secured the rising influence of Villiers. On the 3d of January 1616, he was made Master of the Horse, and, supported by Abbot and the anti-Howard party, and encouraged by the sympathy and advice of Bacon, the new favourite was fairly established at Court. On the 27th of August 1616, he was raised to the peerage as Baron Whaddon (in Bucks) and Viscount Villiers. It was at first intended to give him, along with these titles, the castle and estate of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, forfeited by Somerset's attainder, and worth £32,000. But Villiers declined this estate, to which clung the old curse of

the Bishop of Salisbury, which was popularly said to have brought misfortune or death successively to King Stephen, the Montacutes, the Protector Somerset, Sir Walter Raleigh, Prince Henry, and Carre, Earl of Somerset. On Villiers refusing the fatal gift it was offered to Sir John Digby, afterwards Earl of Bristol, who accepted without scruple, and (as if to support the popular notion) the troubles which befell him and his son, Lord Digby, are matters of history. Two lines of Digbies, possessors of it, have become extinct, and a third has just entered on possession. Villiers benefited by this refusal, for he got instead of Sherborne lands to the value of £80,000. The great lordship of Whaddon, which had fallen to the Crown on the attainder of Lord Grey de Wilton, formed the principal part of this grant. On January 5, 1617, he was made Earl of Buckingham; on January 1, 1618, he was further made Marquess of Buckingham; and on January 30, Lord High Admiral; and shortly after Chief Justice in Eyre of the forests and parks south of Trent, Master of the King's Bench Office, High Steward of Westminster, and Constable of Windsor Castle. Buckingham's rise had not been favourably viewed by Prince Charles at first, and the favourite not showing proper observance of him, the Prince took a great dislike to him; but the King succeeded in removing this, and Buckingham soon became the confidant of Charles's youthful excesses, and at length his bosom and inseparable friend, the only one whom Charles ever admitted to that position. As he gained a firmer position with the Prince he began to neglect and browbeat the old King, and his manners acquired a strange mixture and interchange of insolence

and rapacity with that good-nature and generosity which were natural to him. His reckless expenditure and gross sensuality soon became notorious, but he still showed generally great frankness in his friendships and enmities, and at times the remains of a more noble spirit. But everything gave way more and more to his increasing greed and selfishness, so that even the frankness of his disposition, with his other finer qualities, became at length obscured by it. His power over Charles became marvellous, and his adroitness in managing him shows that he possessed talent enough and cleverness enough if he chose to exercise them. He was naturally very courageous, but he lost by degrees that sense of personal honour and reputation which could alone raise his indifference to danger above a mere physical quality. The Spanish marriage-trip, into which he persuaded the Prince, was one of his self-willed acts, entered on solely for his own personal interests, and the indulgence of his own personal vanity, by displaying himself as the confidant of the heir to the Crown in the face of the Spanish Court and the future Queen. His quarrel there with the Spanish favourite, and the underhand and deceptive part which he and Charles played, both with the Spanish Court and the English nation, are well known. During his absence the King had been persuaded to create him Earl of Coventry and Duke of Buckingham, May 18, 1623, and on his return he was made Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Steward of the manor of Hampton Court. But the King had now a secret wish to get rid of him, though he was afraid to take the step; and Buckingham,

supported by Charles, set him at defiance, and treated him with gross neglect and indignity. He had formerly secretly joined the Prince in recommending severe measures against the popular leaders in Parliament, but he now made great promises to them, and set the House of Commons in motion to break the treaties with Spain, and bring on a war. In vain the King remonstrated; he had to give way, and to sacrifice also his minister Middlesex to the vengeance of the Commons, and the private resentment of the favourite. When Charles, however, became King all this changed. Buckingham no longer cared to play the game of popularity, and was anxious to get a plea for breaking with the popular leaders, and escaping from the fulfilment of his promises to them. Such a plea he got up by persuading the King to suddenly demand fresh supplies after a subsidy had been voted and graciously accepted. Two Parliaments were thus summoned and dissolved, in the second one Buckingham being himself impeached. Meanwhile he had first offered English ships to the French King to reduce the French Huguenots, and afterwards quarrelling with Richelieu, who resented his making love to the young Queen of France, the Duke brought on a war with that country, and commanded and failed most ignominiously in the Rochelle expedition. The third Parliament which the King and he were then obliged to summon carried the Petition of Rights; and during the recess between its two sessions, on August 23, 1628, the Duke of Buckingham was assassinated by John Felton, an old soldier who had private injuries to resent, but who was animated by the general public hatred of

the Duke, which had for some time placed his life in imminent jeopardy. Of his public career more need not be said. His private life was most abandoned, even if we refuse credence to the worst reports respecting him, which were circulated all the more readily from the bitter hatred borne to him by the people. The single excuse for his life is, that he belonged to a race in whom profligacy, expenditure, and insolence rose to a point which betrayed a touch of hereditary insanity, very marked in some of the Duke's proceedings. He married in 1626 Lady Catharine Manners, daughter and heiress of Francis, Earl of Rutland, and by her had one surviving son (another was born after his death) and a daughter, Mary, who by patent, August 31, 1627, had the title of Duchess of Buckingham limited to her in default of issue male of her father. She first married Charles, Lord Herbert, son and heir of Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; secondly, James Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lennox; and thirdly, Thomas Howard, brother of the first Earl of Carlisle, but she had no children. The sons were George and Francis, the former of whom succeeded as second Duke of Buckingham, and was the well-known companion and minister of Charles II.

George Villiers, the younger, was only eight months old at the time of his father's murder, and during his minority great efforts were made by the popular party to gain him over to their side. But in 1648, on the rising of the Earl of Holland in Surrey, the young Duke and his brother, Lord Francis (born April 2, 1629), joined the enterprise, which ended in a disastrous defeat near Kingston-on-Thames, July 7,

1648, in which Lord Francis was killed, and the young Duke escaped to London, and lay concealed there till he could find his way to Holland. Here he supported himself by the sale at Antwerp of the valuable collection of paintings formed by his father, and joining Prince Charles, accompanied him in his Scotch expedition of 1650, and marched with him into England in 1651. Quarrelling with the Scotch, he demanded, in the name of the English Peers, the removal of David Leslie from the command, affecting to think it a derogation of honour that they should have to serve under him; and on the King's refusal, came no more to the Council, scarce spoke to the King, and not at all to any one else, and sulked in the most ridiculous manner, not even changing his linen. But at Worcester battle he fought bravely at the King's side, and accompanied him in the first part of his flight to Boscobel House. Leaving him there, the Duke, after many adventures and disguises, managed a second time to escape to Holland. For a short time Buckingham adhered to the exiled Court; but tiring of this, abandoned Charles, made his peace with Cromwell, and obtained back, through a politic marriage, the greater part of his estate, which had been sequestrated in 1648. He first made love to one of Cromwell's daughters, and being rejected by father and daughter, turned to Fairfax (to whom his estate had been given, and who had allowed a considerable annuity out of it to the Dowager Duchess of Buckingham), and wooed and won Mary Fairfax, the heiress of the ex-general of the Parliament. The match brought with it an estrangement between Fairfax and Cromwell, the former getting under sus-

picion, and leading a most unquiet life in consequence of his son-in-law's intrigues, and personal misconduct and extravagance. At last, August 24, 1658, just before Cromwell's death, Buckingham was arrested, and committed to the Tower, where he remained till July 29, 1659, and the downfall of Richard Cromwell. He was then released, on giving security for good behaviour to the Government. But on August 13 following he was again arrested as implicated in Sir George Booth's rising. On May 4, 1660, on the eve of the Restoration, his estate was restored to him by a vote of Parliament, and he rode before the King at the entry into London on the 29th of May. He began his career at the Court of Charles II. with a fortune of £19,600 a-year, one of the largest possessed by any English subject, nearly all of which he managed to dissipate before the end of his erratic career. With perhaps greater natural abilities than his father, and less overbearing in his prosperity, he rivalled him in profligacy, and being wanting in a certain fitful elevation of character, which was a redeeming point in the elder Villiers, he went beyond him in levity and fickleness of disposition, and scarcely rose in his actions above the stamp of a witty and unprincipled trifler. He soon neglected his unhappy wife entirely, and abandoned himself to the grossest debauchery. But his natural cleverness enabled him to diversify these excesses by playing with other more creditable pursuits. Architecture, music, poetry, dramatic composition, and the more alluring and chimerical parts of chemistry, by turns occupied a few hours of his attention. Politics he took up and pursued as another form of gambling, and he

lived in a fit arena for the display of such an irregular genius. He began as a zealous courtier, and was installed as a Knight of the Garter, but in 1666 plunged into intrigues with the Republican party, was dismissed from all his appointments, and warrants even were out against him for his apprehension. But he contrived to make his peace with the King, and was appointed Master of the Horse. He revenged himself, it is believed, on the Duke of Ormond, who had assisted in his disgrace, by an attempt through the notorious Colonel Blood to assassinate him. Ossory, Ormond's eldest son, taxed Buckingham with this in the King's presence. He now joined with those intriguers who were labouring to undermine and overthrow Clarendon, and assisted by his ridicule of the pompous, self-opinionated Chancellor to bring him into disfavour with Charles. After his fall Buckingham contributed the initial letter of his name to what was called the "Cabal" Ministry, which succeeded. In February 1668, occurred the duel in which he killed the Earl of Shrewsbury, whose wife he had seduced. He received the King's pardon, but the young Earl afterwards petitioned the House of Lords against him. Buckingham alleged in excuse that he only fought on the gravest provocation, that Shrewsbury had fought him twice before, and he had each time given him his life, and that he had threatened to pistol him if he refused to fight a third time. The Parliament being prorogued, the matter dropped. In 1670 he went to France nominally on an embassy of condolence on the death of the Duchess of Orleans, but really to negotiate secretly the triple alliance. He brought back with him a new mistress for the

King, afterwards the Duchess of Portsmouth, but neglected her so during the voyage that he made an enemy instead of a friend of her. He also first introduced to Court Mary Davies and Nell Gwynne. On the dismissal of the Cabal Ministry he went into an opposition to the Court, which became more and more violent. He courted the citizens, pulled down his house at Charing Cross, and removed to one in Dowgate, and in 1674 he resigned the Chancellorship of the University of Cambridge, and strongly supported the Nonconformists in their opposition to the Test Act. The same year he was sent to the Tower. He became with Shaftesbury one of the great "managers" of the anti-Popery cry, and a great patron of Dr Titus Oates, and for the rest of the reign of Charles he continued his career of violent opposition in politics and profligate expenditure in private life. On the accession of James II. he retired to the splendid seat of Helmsley, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, which he had derived from his father-in-law, Fairfax, to whom the House of Commons had given it, and there devoted himself to field amusements. Having caught a fever from sitting on the damp ground while heated with a fox-hunt, after a few days' illness, he died at the house of a tenant at Kirkby-Moorside, on the 16th of April 1687—not, as Pope described it, at a wretched inn, nor was he reduced to any such state of poverty as is implied in those celebrated lines. Dryden satirised him under the name of Zimri, in lines more often quoted perhaps than any satire; but some kind of popular favour seems to have adhered to him through all his excesses. As he left no children, his honours became extinct.

We may now take up the line of the Villiers which is still represented in our peerage,—descended from Sir Edward Villiers, second son of Sir George Villiers of Brooksby by his first wife, and consequently half-brother to the first Duke of Buckingham. Edward Villiers was knighted at Windsor in 1616, in 1620 was sent Ambassador to Bohemia, in 1622 was made President of Munster, and, according to Sir Henry Wotton, lived in that province in singular estimation for his justice and hospitality, and died September 7, 1626, as much to the grief of the whole province as ever any governor did before, his religious lady, who was of a sweet and noble disposition, adding much to his honour. This lady was Barbara, eldest daughter of Sir John St John of Lidiard Tregooze, Wiltshire, and niece to Sir Oliver St John, created Viscount Grandison, in Ireland, January 3, 1620, with remainder to his niece's posterity. Sir Edward Villiers had by her three daughters and four sons. The eldest of these, William, succeeded his uncle as second Viscount Grandison in 1630, and died in August 1643, of a wound received at the siege of Bristol in the Royal cause, leaving an only daughter, Barbara, as his heiress, who became afterwards disgracefully celebrated as Duchess of Cleveland, and mistress of Charles II. Clarendon gives one of his flaming panegyrics of the Cavalier Viscount, in which he speaks of his "rare piety and devotion," so that "the court and camp could not show a more faultless person," which is, after all, no very exalted praise. His three brothers engaged in the same cause,—the eldest, John, succeeding as third Viscount Grandison; but, dying without male issue, he was succeeded by the next

brother, George, fourth Viscount Grandison, who died December 16, 1699. His eldest son and successor Edward, who died before his father, had risen to the rank of Brigadier-General in the army, and married Catherine, daughter and heiress of John Fitzgerald, Esq., of Dromana, county Waterford, and in her right obtained a large estate in that county. One of his daughters, Harriet, married Robert Pitt, Esq., and became mother of the celebrated Earl of Chatham. Her eldest brother, John Villiers, succeeded his grandfather as fifth Viscount Grandison, and was raised by George I. (September 11, 1721) to the title of Earl Grandison of Limerick, and on the 26th of October 1733, was sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed Governor of the county and city of Waterford. He died May 14, 1766, at his house in Suffolk. His two sons died before him, leaving no male issue, and the *Earldom* of Grandison became extinct. His daughter Elizabeth, who married a Mr Mason, of Waterford, was created Countess of Grandison; but her son George, Earl Grandison, dying in 1800 without male issue, the title again became extinct. The Viscountcy had passed on the death of the fifth Viscount (and first Earl) to the descendant of Sir Edward Villiers, youngest brother of the second, third, and fourth Viscounts. This branch had before that time gained other honours.

This Edward Villiers, after serving in the Royal cause, and being wounded at the first battle of Newbury—Clarendon testifying that the King found his "diligence and dexterity fit for any trust"—was after the Restoration knighted, made Knight Marshal of the Household, Colonel of the Duchess of York's Regi-

ment, and Governor of Tynemouth Castle. He also had a grant of the royal house and manor of Richmond, and his wife became governess to the Princesses Mary and Anne. James II. retained him in his office of Knight Marshal, but he resigned to the King the royal palace of Richmond "for a valuable consideration." He died just after the Revolution, and was buried in Westminster Abbey July 2, 1689. He had married a daughter of Theophilus Howard, Earl of Suffolk, and by her had two sons and six daughters. The eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was Maid of Honour to Mary of Orange, and married Lord George Hamilton (third son of William, Duke of Hamilton), who was created Earl of Orkney. She became the mistress of William III., and as such obtained immense grants of land, which caused great scandal and public invective. She is said, however, not in other respects to have abused her influence with the King, and she founded an English school at Middleton, Cork. She died April 19, 1733. The fourth daughter, Anne, married William Bentinck, the founder of the Portland family. The elder son, Edward Villiers, had his fortune made by being appointed to attend the Princess Mary into Holland on her marriage to William, and he accompanied them on their expedition to England at the Revolution. On their accession to the throne he was made Master of the Horse to the Queen and knighted, and succeeded his father as Knight Marshal. On the 20th of March 1691, he was created Baron Villiers of Hoo, Kent, and Viscount Villiers of Dartford, Kent. His office of Master of the Horse ceasing with the death of Queen Mary, he was sent Envoy Plenipotentiary to the Congress at the Hague in 1695, and in

1697 was appointed one of the Plenipotentiaries for the Treaty of Ryswick, and in the same year a Lord Justice for Ireland. On October 29 in the same year he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the States-General; and on September 24, 1697, he was raised to the dignity of Earl of Jersey. At the end of the next year he succeeded the Earl of Portland as Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of France, and entered Paris with great state in January 1699. Here he remained till May, when he returned to England, and was appointed, May 14, a principal Secretary of State, and sworn one of the Lords Justices during the absence of the King. The King, however, sent for him to Loo before the end of the year. He was appointed one of the Plenipotentiaries for the second Treaty of Partition, and on June 24, 1700, Lord Chamberlain. To this office he was re-appointed on the accession of Queen Anne, and continued in this post to April 1704, after which he held no public employment, and died August 26, 1711. Next day he was to have been named Lord Privy Seal, being also designated as one of the Plenipotentiaries to the Congress of Utrecht. He was a Tory, but a personal adherent and courtier of King William, being employed by him in most of the secret negotiations with persons of importance. He is said along with Keppel to have been a great instrument in bringing the Tories into King William's Cabinet, and on the other hand to have persuaded the King to forego his opposition to the Resumption Bill affecting the Irish grants to the favourites. Burnet has a great dislike to him as a Tory favourite of the King. Speaking of his dismissal from the Lord Chamberlainship in 1704, he says, "The Earl of Jersey was a weak man,

but crafty, and well practised in the arts of a court; his lady was a Papist, and it was believed that while he was Ambassador in France he was secretly reconciled to the Court of St Germains, for after that he served in their interests. It was one of the reproaches of the last reign that he had so much credit with the late King, who was so sensible of it that if he had lived a little while longer he would have dismissed him; he was considered as the person that was now in the closest correspondence with the Court of France, and though he was himself a very inconsiderable man, yet he was applied to by all those who wished well to the Court of St Germains." On this passage Lord Dartmouth has a note: "The Earl of Jersey was not so strong a man as Bishop Burnet, but had more integrity and a better judgment; it is true that his lady was a Papist, but the rest of the story was believed by nobody but the Bishop and those who gave credit to his surmises." In another note, however, Lord Dartmouth seems almost to admit the correspondence of Jersey with the Court of St Germains. His wife was Barbara, daughter of William Chiffinch, Closet-Keeper to Charles II., by whom he had two sons, and a daughter married into the Thynne family. His eldest son and successor, William, second Earl of Jersey, was elected one of the Knights for Kent in the Parliament of 1705, and died July 13, 1721. He had two sons, William, who succeeded as third Earl of Jersey, and Thomas, who was created Earl of Clarendon. The third Earl of Jersey was a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Frederick, Prince of Wales, and in 1740 was appointed Chief Justice in Eyre of the Forests, &c., south of Trent, and afterwards one of the Privy

Council. He died August 28, 1769. His eldest son died before him, and he was succeeded by his second, George Bussy, fourth Earl of Jersey, who sat for Tamworth, and afterwards for Aldborough, in Yorkshire, and Dover, and on March 21, 1761, was appointed one of the Lords of the Admiralty, but resigned April 1763; was appointed Lord Chamberlain July 6, 1765, and resigned September 9, 1769, being the same day appointed a Lord of the Bedchamber, in which position he continued till December 1777. On March 30, 1782, he was appointed Master of the Buckhounds, which he exchanged, May 1783, for the office of Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners, and resigned the latter post December 1790. He was afterwards Master of the Horse to the Prince of Wales, and died August 22, 1805. His wife, the daughter and heiress of Dr Twysden, Bishop of Raphoe, gained an unenviable notoriety as the mistress of George IV. at the time of his marriage with Queen Caroline. One of her daughters married the first Marquess of Anglesey, and being divorced from him remarried the then Duke of Argyll. The eldest son, George, succeeded as fifth Earl of Jersey. He held the posts of Chamberlain and Master of the Horse in some of the Conservative administrations, was a patron of the turf, and died October 3, 1859. He married Sarah Sophia, eldest daughter of John, Earl of Westmoreland, who inherited the very large property of her maternal grandfather, Mr Child the banker, of Osterly Park, near Brentford, Middlesex, and the Earl assumed the name of Child before that of Villiers. His eldest son and successor, George Augustus Frederic, sixth Earl of Jersey, who married a daughter of Sir Robert

Peel the Premier, died a few days after his father, October 24, 1859, and was succeeded by his son Victor Albert George Child-Villiers, seventh and present Earl, who has not yet attained his majority. The Jersey branch has not produced any men above the level of courtiers, though the polish, grace, and beauty of the old Villiers have survived to a great extent in these their descendants. Besides Osterly, the Earls of Jersey have also a seat at MIDDLETON-STONEY in Oxfordshire.

We have already mentioned Thomas Villiers, second son of William, second Earl of Jersey, who became the founder of the Clarendon branch of the family. In 1752 he married Lady Charlotte Capel, daughter of William, third Earl of Essex, by Lady Jane, eldest daughter and joint-heiress of Henry Hyde, last Earl of Clarendon and Rochester of that family. During the reign of George II. Mr Villiers was several times Minister at Dresden, Vienna, Berlin, and other German Courts, and in 1748 was made a Lord of the Admiralty. He represented Tamworth in Parliament till May 31, 1756; was created Baron Hyde of Hindon, Wilts, on the 3d of June; on September 2, 1763, was sworn of the Privy Council, and on the 10th declared Joint Postmaster-General with Viscount Hampden. In this office he continued till July 1765, when, on the formation of the first Rockingham Cabinet, he resigned. On June 14, 1771, he was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and on June 8, 1776, was advanced to the title of Earl of Clarendon, and died December 11, 1786. He was also created a Baron of the kingdom of Prussia. He was a man of fair but not brilliant ability. His son and successor, Thomas, second Earl of Clarendon, represented Helstone in

Parliament, and died unmarried 1824, being succeeded in his honours by his next brother, John Charles, third Earl of Clarendon, who married the daughter and coheiress of Admiral the Hon. John Forbes, and had an only daughter, who died unmarried. He died December 22, 1838, and was succeeded by his nephew, George William Frederick, the present and fourth Earl, eldest son of the Hon. George Villiers, third son of the first Earl. He was Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Madrid during the crisis of the civil wars which attended the succession of the present Queen; was Lord Privy Seal, 1839; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1840-41; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1847-52; and 1853-58, Secretary for Foreign Affairs. In April 1864 he accepted the office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, with a seat in the Cabinet. His brother, the Right Hon. Charles Pelham Villiers, the well-known proposer of the repeal of the Corn Laws for so long a time in the House of Commons, is now Poor-law Commissioner for England, with a seat in the Cabinet; another brother, Henry Montagu Villiers, was Bishop of Durham, and died August 1861. The seat of this branch is The Grove, Watford, Hertfordshire.

Taken together, the family has not been great or its history creditable; but it has remained for 200 years at the top of society, and has woven its history not in gold thread into that of Great Britain. Its greatest services have been diplomatic, and the genius of the house, such as it is, seems to be for intrigue; but it has not been without a fitful kind of sense that English nobles exist in order that the English nation may grow great.

The Barings.*

A NEW family at last! In the roll of houses whose rise we have described there are many who owe their original greatness to trade, but among the political families of the land, the men who fill Cabinets and are thought of for high office, there is but this one belonging strictly to the order of merchant princes. The earliest ancestor to whom they can be traced is Peter Baring, who lived between the years 1660 and 1670 at Gröningen, in the Dutch province of Overyssel, the same province which produced the ducal house of the Bentincks. One of his descendants, Francis Baring, was pastor of the Lutheran Church at Bremen, and in his clerical capacity came over to London. His son John Baring, being well acquainted with cloth-making, settled at Larkbeer, in Devonshire, and there set up an establishment for that manufacture. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Vowler, Esq., of Bellair, and had four sons and a daughter. The eldest son, John,

* We are indebted for the principal part of our information respecting the early history of this family to Mr Vincent Notte's 'Fifty Years in Both Hemispheres; or, Reminiscences of a Merchant's Life' (1854), the facts detailed in which are understood to have been submitted to the revision of the late Lord Ashburton.

and the third son, Francis, established themselves under the firm of John and Francis Baring at London, originally with a view of facilitating their father's trade in disposing of his goods, and to be in a position to import the raw material required, such as wool, dye-stuffs, &c., themselves directly from abroad. The elder brother afterwards withdrew, and retired to Exeter, and the house passed under the firm name of Francis Baring, and afterwards under that of Baring Brothers and Co., and rose gradually to the highest commercial rank. Francis Baring was born April 18, 1740, and became the intimate friend of Lord Shelburne, and his adviser in financial matters during his Ministry. The Minister styled him the "Prince of Merchants;" and such was his recognised ability and influence in that capacity, that William Pitt was glad to conciliate him by a baronetcy (May 29, 1793). He married in 1766 Harriet, daughter of William Herring, Esq., of Croydon, cousin and coheiress of Thomas Herring, Archbishop of Canterbury, and by her had five sons and five daughters. His three eldest sons, Thomas, Alexander, and Henry, entered into the London establishment. The eldest, Thomas, who, on the death of Sir Francis, on the 12th of September 1810, succeeded him in the baronetcy, then withdrew from the house. Henry, the third son, was passionately devoted to gambling, and was so successful in it that he several times broke the "Entreprise Générale des Jeux" at Paris. But some scandal being created by one of the heads of such an establishment as the Barings passing night after night in the great gambling-houses, an understanding was come to for his withdrawal from the firm. Alexander Baring, the second

son, who thus remained at the head of the mercantile establishment, was born the 27th of October 1774. He received a portion of his education in Hanover, and completed it in England. He commenced his mercantile career in the house of Messrs Hope, where a friendship sprang up between him and Mr Peter Cæsar Labouchere (who became a partner in that house), which led to the marriage of the latter in 1796 to Alexander Baring's sister Dorothy. Their eldest son is the present Lord Taunton. When the Messrs Hope returned to England in consequence of the occupation of Holland by the French under Pichegru, Alexander Baring left the house, and determined to visit the United States of America. At his departure his father confined his advice to two recommendations,—one of which was to purchase no uncultivated land, and the other not to marry a wife there. The reasons he gave for this advice were, that uncultivated lands can be more readily bought than sold again, and a wife is best suited to the home in which she was brought up, and cannot be formed or trained a second time. However, Alexander Baring had not passed one year in the United States before he forgot both points of his father's advice. He purchased large tracts of land in the western part of the State of Pennsylvania, and laid out a not inconsiderable capital (100,000 dollars at the least) in the then Territory and now State of Maine, under the annexed condition of bringing a number of settlers thither within a certain term of years. He also married, in 1798, Anna, eldest daughter of Mr William Bingham, of Philadelphia, who was at that time considered the richest man in the United States, and was a member

of the Senate. On the death of her father his wife brought Mr Baring a fortune of 900,000 dollars. The house of Baring now entered on monetary operations of a gigantic scale and of European importance. In 1818 Alexander Baring was enabled to perform a great national service to France. His house had taken a loan for that Government of 27,238,938 francs 5 per cent rente, at 67 francs, and thereby had freed France from the intended cordon of Russian, Prussian, and Austrian armies of 50,000 each for five years. But the Paris Bourse received some severe blows by the fall of the State paper from 67 to 58. The cause of this was a fall of 30 per cent in the price of goods which accompanied the sudden reduction of four millions of pounds sterling in the English paper circulation on the part of the Bank of England, and numerous mad speculations in the London and Paris funds. The loan taken by Baring and Co. was concluded in two portions, one of 14,925,500 francs at 66 francs 50 centimes, and the other of 12,313,438 francs at 67. The rente fell to 58 francs before the contracting parties had the last portion in their hands. The whole Paris Bourse was violently agitated; the contractors saw that under such circumstances the strength was lacking to sustain so heavy an emission of State paper, and that there would be any number of failures in case so large an additional sum were put in circulation. Pretty nearly everybody lost their presence of mind except Alexander Baring. He persuaded the Duc de Richelieu to annul the contract for the last half of the loan, and prevailed on the bankers associated with him to relinquish it on their part. Mr Baring on this occasion brought, it is said, the

money power which he possessed over the plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Aix,—Metternich, Nesselrode, Hardenberg, &c.,—to bear on Richelieu to induce him to consent to this measure.

By his American wife Alexander Baring had four sons, the second of whom, Francis, born in May 1800, the favourite of his father and mother, was intended by the former to follow in his footsteps, and become the leading spirit of the firm in the next generation. With this purpose he was introduced into the London house, and allowed to transact several important matters in America and elsewhere on his own responsibility. But although described as being of a fine, manly, independent character, and generally liked, he had not the judgment to conduct mercantile enterprises, and was so unlucky in all his speculations that at last, while retaining the nominal headship of the firm, it was reduced by a new arrangement and his own disposition to a merely nominal partnership. He once bought all the land round the lake in which the city of Mexico stands, and his bills were honoured by his father, who, however, prevailed on the Mexican Government to cancel the contract as dangerous to the military security of the capital. He entered Parliament for Thetford, and sat for several years, but did not succeed in making any political position, being a bad speaker, and inheriting a natural stutter from his father. He married in 1833 Clare Hortense, daughter of Maret, Duke of Bassano, Napoleon's first Secretary of State, and, settling at Paris, bought one of the most magnificent residences on the Place Vendôme for 1,600,000 francs, and he has just (1864) succeeded to the family peerage of Ashburton. It

was the death of Mr Holland, the manager of the Barings, that brought about in 1825 a considerable change in the composition of the mercantile firm. John, third son of Sir Thomas Baring (elder brother of Alexander Baring), had, two years before this time, formed a commission-house in partnership with Mr Joshua Bates,* of Boston, under the firm of Bates and Baring. John Baring had brought into this firm £20,000, and Mr Bates about as much. Mr Bates's ability and experience now led (on the advice of Mr Labouchere) to an arrangement by which the firm of Bates and Baring was dissolved, and those gentlemen entered the house of Baring and Co. At the same time Mr Thomas Baring, second son of Sir Thomas Baring, who had entered the house of Hope, at Amsterdam, but had found there no occupation suited to his talents and business spirit, also entered the London house, of which his uncle, Mr Alexander Baring, was the head. In 1828 Alexander Baring, who had now devoted himself to politics, resolved to retire from the house he had hitherto conducted, and his son-in-law, Mr Humphrey St John Mildmay, entered it. There were thus five associates in the house—Francis Baring, H. St John Mildmay, Joshua Bates, and the two brothers, Thomas and John Baring. No business was to be entered into without the assent of three partners, and as it was foreseen that the son and son-in-law of Alexander Baring would be likely to vote together, and the two other Barings together, leaving to Mr Bates the casting vote, an arrangement was made by which Francis and John Baring were removed from

* Mr Bates died this year (1864).

all participation in any new business, and were to be called upon for their votes only when the active managers—Thomas Baring, Mildmay, and Bates—could not agree. The real head of the *commercial* house is now Mr Thomas Baring, who has for many years represented Huntingdon in Parliament, and attached himself strongly to the Tory party, though always declining to accept office on the plea of his commercial engagements.

During his lifetime Alexander Baring was *one*, at any rate, of the heads of the *political* house of Baring. Having entered Parliament, he attached himself at first to the Opposition party after the peace of 1815, strongly opposed the continuance of the income-tax in 1816, and was, with Messrs Hope and Rothschild, present nominally in a private, but really in a most important capacity, at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818. On the 8th of May 1820 he presented a petition from the merchants of London in favour of free-trade. In 1821, on the debate upon the resumption of Bank payments, Mr Baring made a remarkable speech, in which he spoke of the country being placed in the sixth year of peace in a situation without a parallel in any other nation or time. "No country before ever presented the continuance of so extraordinary a spectacle as that of living under a progressive increase in the value of money and decrease in the value of the productions of the people." "The difficulties of the country," he concluded, "arise from this, that you have brought back your currency to its former value so far as regards your income, but it remains at its former value so far as regards your expenditure." In 1826 he opposed the suppression of small notes. In the early part of 1830, together with Mr Attwood, he

proposed that a gold and silver standard should be substituted for the gold one, and that the Act for prohibiting the issue of bank-notes below £5 should be repealed. In the same year he strongly denounced the Government of the Duke of Wellington for reducing the taxation so as to render necessary the virtual abandonment of the Sinking Fund. On this occasion he separated from the Liberals, and allied himself with the extreme Tories. He now definitely took his side with the anti-Reformers, opposing the Reform Bill, and having his windows broken by the mob in 1831. When the Whig Ministry resigned on this question, and the Duke of Wellington made a vain attempt to form a Tory Cabinet, Mr Baring was named for Chancellor of the Exchequer. After the dismissal of the Whig Ministry by the King in 1834, Mr Baring became President of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint in Sir Robert Peel's short-lived Ministry of '35. He was raised to the peerage April 10, 1835, as Baron Ashburton, of Ashburton in Devonshire. The choice of this title was dictated by the fact of the well-known lawyer John Dunning, who married a sister of Sir Francis Baring, and consequently an aunt of Alexander Baring, having borne this title, which became extinct with his son, the first cousin of the subject of the new creation. But the political question with which the name of Alexander Baring, first Lord Ashburton of that family, will be chiefly associated, is the celebrated treaty by which the north-eastern boundary line of the United States and British America was determined. This treaty, usually called the "Treaty of Washington," or the "Ashburton Treaty," and by its opponents in England "the Ashburton Capitulation,"

was signed at Washington by Lord Ashburton as the Commissioner of the Government of Sir Robert Peel. The question in dispute had arisen from a doubtful passage in the treaty of 1783, by which a certain line of highlands was assigned as the boundary. Two lines of highlands were put forward by England and the United States respectively as the line intended by the treaty, which were at an interval of about 100 miles from each other. At the treaty of Ghent in 1814 it had been resolved to submit the matter to the arbitration of the then King of the Netherlands, who, after devoting himself assiduously to it, in despair of arriving at any satisfactory solution, proposed in 1831 another line as a compromise, following the bend of the St John river, and down the middle of that stream. The whole area of the disputed territory was estimated at 6,750,000 acres, and by this award the King of the Netherlands assigned to England 2,636,160 acres. According to Mr Thomas Colley Grattan (who assisted in the Ashburton negotiation), Lord Palmerston was willing at that time to accept this award, as were also President Jackson and the American Government, but some other American negotiators were opposed to it, and raised such a storm in the United States against it that Jackson, then about to stand a second time for the Presidency, was afraid to accept it, and accordingly intimated that the King had exceeded his power as arbitrator in fixing a third arbitrary line, and rejected it. The English Government afterwards made several vain attempts to persuade the Americans to consent to this compromise, and at last Lord Palmerston withdrew the adhesion to it of England also, and the matter seemed to be fast hastening to a decision by the sword,

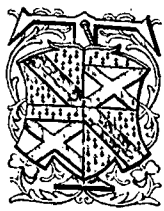
when the accession of Sir Robert Peel, in 1841, took the nation out of the hands of Lord Palmerston. Peel determined to settle it at once, and selected for this purpose Lord Ashburton as the fittest person to negotiate the treaty. Mr Grattan says of this choice, that he was "a nobleman well adapted to the occasion, from his connection by marriage and property with the United States. He was not a trained ambassador; but his general knowledge of business, straightforwardness, and good sense, were qualities far more valuable than those to be generally found in professional diplomatists, whose proceedings so often embroil instead of conciliating." This appointment created a very favourable impression in the United States, and Lord Ashburton arrived at New York in March 1842 under most encouraging auspices, and immediately repaired to Washington. At first the treaty flagged, owing to the obstinacy of one of the Commissioners from the State of Maine; but the American Cabinet showed a disposition not to insist on a more favourable solution of the difficulty than that suggested by the King of the Netherlands' proposition. Accordingly, on the 9th of August 1842, a treaty was signed which Mr Grattan pronounces to be more favourable to England than the award of the King of the Netherlands, not only strategically, but also by 700,000 acres. By it the disputed territory was thus divided:—To the United States were assigned 3,413,000 acres; to Great Britain, 3,337,000, there being thus a balance of 76,000 in favour of the United States. The treaty was denounced both in England and America, in the former country by Lord Palmerston, but the Conservative majority of the Minister, supported in this instance

by the mercantile community, proved too strong for the Whig statesman.

Lord Ashburton died on the 13th of May 1848, and was succeeded by his eldest son, William Bingham Baring, who had sat in Parliament for some years on Liberal-Conservative principles, being a supporter of Sir Robert Peel's free-trade policy, of which his cousin, Mr Thomas Baring, was a strenuous opponent. His public life requires no further notice. He is now succeeded, as above stated, by his next brother, Francis Baring, third Baron Ashburton, whose son, Alexander Hugh Baring, succeeded his father in the representation of Thetford. A legal question arose just before the birth of this latter gentleman, whether, being born in France, he could be the rightful heir according to the English law, his father having been born at Philadelphia, his mother at Paris, and his grandmother at Philadelphia. The point was referred to eminent English counsel, who decided that his rights would not be affected by his birth in France, and so there was no occasion to avail themselves of the offer of the English Ambassador, Lord Granville, to have the birth take place within the precincts of the English Embassy. The elder branch of the Barings, meanwhile, had acquired some political position in the ranks of the Whig party. Sir Francis Thornhill Baring, third Baronet, eldest son of Sir Thomas Baring, and elder brother of the present head of the commercial firm, born in April 1796, who has just announced his intention of retiring from public life, has been for many years one of the leaders of the Whig party in the House of Commons. He was Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Melbourne's Ministry, and subsequently First Lord of the

Admiralty on the return of the Whigs to power in 1846, and has long been member of Parliament for Portsmouth. Whatever may be thought of him as a financier, his ability is undoubted, and his political position has always been a highly respectable one, both within and without the House. He has been twice married, and his eldest son, Thomas George Baring, has filled some subordinate posts in Whig Ministries, and is a member of Parliament. The family retain, like the Bentincks, the trace of their Dutch blood,—a steadiness and coolness of judgment which fits them well for their position as among the foremost representatives of the new commercial aristocracy. The chief of that aristocracy is, we suppose, Lord Overstone, one of the wealthiest subjects in the world—his fortune is estimated at five millions—but among them none have had so long a term of influence and respect as the house of Baring.

The Petty-Fitzmaurices.



THIS family, which, had the late Lord Lansdowne survived another year, would probably have been ducal, despite its plebeian name, is of the very bluest blood, being a younger branch of the great house of which the Fitzgeralds are the elder. The brains of a clothier's son brought them their great wealth, but they are traceable by lineal male descent to the time of Edward the Confessor. In Domesday Survey occurs the name of Walter Fitz-Other, Castellan of Windsor and Warden of the Forests in Berkshire, being then possessed of two lordships in that county, three in Surrey, three in Bucks, three in Dorsetshire, four in Middlesex, nine in Wiltshire, one in Somerset, and ten in Hampshire—all which "Dominus Otherus" his father held in the time of King Edward the Confessor. This OTHER, or OTHO, as he is sometimes called, is said to have been one of the family of the Gherardini of Florence—whence Gheraldine, Geraldine—and it is conjectured by his descendant, the present Marquess of Kildare, that, having settled in Normandy, he was one of the foreign favourites who accompanied Edward the Confessor to England, and created such jealousy among

his Saxon subjects. His son Walter, at any rate, was treated as a fellow-countryman by the Normans after the Conquest. This Walter Fitz-Other is said to have married a daughter of the Prince of North Wales, and to have had three sons, the eldest of whom, Gerald, assumed, according to the custom of that day with *eldest* sons, the name of Fitz-Walter; was made Constable of Pembroke Castle by Henry I., commanded the English forces against the Welsh, was made President of the county of Pembroke, and married Nesta, the beautiful daughter of Rhys-ap-Griffith, Prince of South Wales, mistress of Henry I., called from her adventures "the Helen of Wales." When Gerald Fitz-Walter married her she was, according to one authority, widow of the Constable of Cardigan; according to another, Gerald was her first husband and the Constable her second. This Nesta was afterwards carried off, with two of her sons, by Owen, her cousin, who set fire to Pembroke Castle to cover his attack, Gerald escaping by a ladder. The boys were sent back, and Owen fled to Ireland; but, returning afterwards, Gerald surprised and slew him in 1116. By Nesta, Gerald Fitz-Walter had three sons and one daughter. The eldest son, Maurice, was the ancestor of the Fitzgerald family, the head of which is the Duke of Leinster; the third, David, became Bishop of St David's; and the second, William, was the ancestor of the present Marquess of Lansdowne. The daughter, Angareth, married William de Barri, and became the mother of the historian Giraldus Cambrensis. William, the second son of Gerald Fitz-Walter, inherited his mother's property, the castle of Karrin, Carrio, or Carew, in Carmarthen-

shire, and assumed that name. In the 12th Henry II. he held two knights' fees in the county of Bucks, and the manor of Spersholt and Hermitage in Berkshire. He was sent by Earl Strongbow to Ireland in 1171, along with his son Raymond, but returned to England, and died in 1173. His eldest son, Otho, who succeeded to Carew Castle, took that name, and transmitted it to his descendants, one of whom became Earl of Totness in 1626, but leaving no male issue, the title died out in 1629. The numerous Carews of Devon and Cornwall claim descent from the same ancestor. Raymond (called Le Grosse), the second son of William of Carew, remained in Ireland, became Strongbow's right-hand man there; and, for relieving him when in extremity at Waterford, received in 1175 the hand of his sister, with the lands of Idrone, Fothard, and Glas-carrigg, and the Constableship of Leinster. Assisting Macarthy, King of Cork, against the King of Limerick, Raymond obtained as his reward a large tract of land in the county of Kerry, where he settled his eldest son, MAURICE, from whom, according to some, the family name is derived, as well as the name of the district, Clanmaurice; but it does not seem easy to fix the exact time when the name Fitzmaurice became hereditary, and we give the following pedigree with some reserve on account of that circumstance, though it is probably substantially correct:—He left no legitimate son, but his natural son, already mentioned, Maurice Fitz-Raymond, succeeded him in his estates, which took the name of Clanmaurice. Maurice had a grant of five knights' fees from King Richard in Desmond, and was succeeded in his principal property by his eldest son, Thomas, called

Fitzmaurice. He had a grant from King John in the first year of his reign of ten knights' fees in Kerry, and a rent out of that territory of fourpence per acre from Bealtra to Grabane, which is called *the rent of the acres.* He is said to have died in 1280; but, taken in connection with the grant from John, this date looks rather doubtful. He is called the first Lord of Kerry. His eldest son, Maurice, called Fitz-Thomas of Kerry, served in the Scotch wars of Edward I., and died at his house of Lixmaw in 1303. He married the heiress of Sir John M'Leod, of Galway. His eldest son, Nicholas, third Lord of Kerry, built a stone bridge at Lixmaw, and was the first who made causeways to that place. He served against the Irish and in the Scotch wars, was knighted, and married a daughter of O'Brien, Prince of Thomond. His eldest son and successor, Maurice Fitz-Nicholas, had an unlucky career. Having killed a personal enemy on the bench in the presence of the judge of assize at Tralee in 1325, he was tried and attainted by the Parliament at Dublin; but not put to death, forfeiting, however, his lands in Desmond. He afterwards associated with the Irish in their risings, and being seized by the Earl of Desmond, was kept in prison till his death in 1339. His brother John, to whom the lordship was restored, became fifth Lord of Kerry, and died in 1348. Maurice, his successor, was a Lord of Parliament in the 48th Edward III., served *against* the Irish, and died in 1398 at Lixmaw. His descendant Edmond, tenth Lord of Kerry, who regained some of the lands in Desmond, eventually died a Franciscan friar in 1543, and was succeeded by his son Edmond, whom Henry VIII. had in 1537 created

Baron of Odorney and Viscount Kilmaule. He had a grant of several abbeys with their lands to him and his male issue; but in default these reverted to the Crown, his brother Patrick succeeding as twelfth Lord of Kerry; whose sons, Thomas and Edmond, dying without issue, their uncle Gerard (the red-haired), became eventually the fifteenth Lord, another son of the tenth Lord, Thomas, succeeding as sixteenth Lord. There is a romantic story that this Thomas, having no expectation, as a younger son, of succeeding to the estates, had long served with the Emperors of Germany at Milan, and was there when his last brother died. Another member of the family seized the estates, and held them for a year, when Thomas Fitzmaurice's old nurse, accompanied by her daughter, went in search of him, and acquainted him with the news—the nurse dying on her return home. In about two years Thomas Fitzmaurice recovered his estates, and they were regranted and confirmed to him by Queen Mary, and settled by him on his son Patrick. He sat in the Irish Parliaments 3d and 4th Philip and Mary and 2d Elizabeth, under the title of Thomas Fitzmaurice, Baron of Licksmaway, *vulgariter dictus* Baron de Kerry, being placed in the former as first Baron of Ireland, in the other as second. In 1578 he made a tender of allegiance to the Lord Deputy in his camp; but, in 1581, the English army being reduced to 400 foot and 50 horse, he, for some or no cause, rose in rebellion, took the castles of Adare and Lisconell, and ravaged the lands of Tipperary, Ormond, and Waterford, till the Governor Zouche marched against him, when he abandoned Adare, took refuge in his castle of Lixmaw, and was defeated by the

Governor in the wood of Lisconell. He fled to the mountains, met with another defeat, and at last was reduced to such extremities that he threw himself on the Earl of Ormond's mercy, and was admitted to terms. Lord Kerry was present at the Parliament of Sir John Perrot in 1585, and died the 16th of December 1590.

His son, Patrick Fitz-Thomas Fitzmaurice, seventeenth Lord, born in 1541, and educated at the English Courts of Mary and Elizabeth, with the latter of whom he was in high favour, was at last allowed by her to return to Ireland to see his father. But in 1599 he rose in rebellion, marshalled 500 foot and 30 horse against the Crown in Kerry, and continued a rebel till his death, the 12th of August 1600. His son and successor, Thomas, eighteenth Lord of Kerry, born in 1574, on his father's death offered submission to the Government, but some service being required from him as a pledge of his loyalty he refused, and continued in arms till the Castle of Listowel, the last he had in Kerry, was betrayed to Sir Charles Wilmot, with his eldest son and all his provisions and goods. The Queen ordered him to be especially excepted, with the Earl of Desmond and others, from any pardon; but the Lords of the Council modified this order in his favour, provided he would perform some signal service to the State. He still persevered in his rebellion, marched to join O'Donnell's army and the Spaniards, was again defeated and driven from point to point, his castle of Lixmaw being taken by Sir Charles Wilmot, till he was expelled from Clanmaurice, and at length, after a fruitless attempt at resistance, from Desmond also—the pacification of

Munster being thus completed. On the accession of James I., he waited on him and made a humble submission, and the King sent a warrant, the 28th of October 1603, to the Lord Deputy to accept of a surrender of his estate, and to grant it again to him by new letters patent, which was done July 16, 1604. In 1612 he obtained a new grant of the property to him and his heirs and assigns for ever. He was present at the Parliament of 1615, and had a dispute for precedency with the Lord Slane, and died at Drogheda the 3d of June 1630. His eldest son and successor, Patrick, nineteenth Lord of Kerry, born at Lixmaw in 1595, took his seat in Parliament the 14th of July 1634; but, after the Irish Rebellion broke out, retired into England (in 1641), and remained there for the rest of his life, dying in the parish of St Giles-in-the-Fields, London, January 31, 1660. He was succeeded by his son William, twentieth Lord of Kerry, who was born in 1633, and died in 1697. His eldest son and successor, Thomas, twenty-first Lord of Kerry, made the fortunes of the family by a lucky *mesalliance*. He was born in 1668, took his seat in Parliament the 17th of August 1697, was one of the Lords who, on the 2d of December in that year, signed the association in defence of the person of King William, and was created by George I. Viscount Clanmaurice and Earl of Kerry by letters patent, dated at St James's, the 27th of October 1721, and at Dublin the 17th of January 1722. He sat with this title in Parliament the 30th of November 1725, and in May 1726 was called to the Privy Council, and again by George II. He married, the 14th January 1692, Anne, only daughter of Sir William Petty, and died at

Lixmaw March 16, 1741. His eldest son, William, second *Earl* and twenty-second *Baron* of Kerry, died in 1747, leaving an only son, Francis Thomas, third Earl of Kerry, who died July 4, 1818, without leaving children, when the Fitzmaurice titles and estates devolved on his cousin, Henry, third Marquess of Lansdowne, the representative of the younger son of Thomas, the first *Earl* of Kerry, to whom had been limited the Petty estates.

We must now, therefore, retrace our steps to speak of the Petty family, who had thus aggrandised the old house of Fitzmaurice. Instead of being descended from a favourite of Edward the Confessor, the Pettys can trace no farther back than Anthony Petty, of Rumsey, in Hampshire, clothier in the early part of the seventeenth century. His son, WILLIAM PETTY, however, and not the Florentine-Norman Otho, was the real founder of the greatness of the Lansdowne family. William Petty was born at Rumsey, May 26, 1623, at an early age showed great talent for mechanics, and at twelve years of age could work as well as a regular smith and carpenter. He was educated first at Rumsey, and afterwards sent to Oxford, where, at the age of fifteen, he had acquired a knowledge of French, besides the classical languages, and those parts of geometry and astronomy, &c., which relate to navigation. He then entered the Royal Navy, where at the age of twenty he had made about £60, with which he went in 1643 to the Low Countries and France, and studied anatomy, medicine, &c., at Utrecht, Leyden, Amsterdam, and Paris. While abroad he read Velasius with the celebrated Hobbes of Malmesbury, who took great pleasure in his tuition. He returned

to Rumsey in 1647 with his brother Anthony, whom he had educated, and with £70 in pocket. In March 1648, the Parliament offered him a patent for seventeen years for teaching his method of *double writing*. He identified himself with their cause, practised as a physician at Oxford, and instructed the young students in anatomy and chemistry, became Deputy-Professor of Anatomy in the University, and, March 7, 1650, was admitted as Doctor of Physic on the recommendation of Lieutenant-Colonel Kelsey, deputy-governor of the garrison, and was likewise elected Fellow of Brazenose College. In December 1650, he restored to life a woman who had been hung for child-murder at Oxford, and procured her pardon. In January 1651, he was chosen Professor of Anatomy, and soon afterwards received into the College of Physicians in London, and appointed lecturer on music in Gresham College. He had then from all these sources only £400; but the Commonwealth advanced him £100, and with this he set out in August 1652 as Physician-General to the Army in Ireland and its commander, Lieutenant-General Edmond Ludlowe, with an allowance of 20s. a-day. He enjoyed this office till June 1659. He practised after his arrival as a doctor with great success at Dublin, and was made Clerk of the Council and Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant (then Oliver Cromwell, though he was not present in Ireland), and had a salary of £400 a-year for these two offices. In December 1654, he engaged in a survey of Ireland, and carried it out with such minuteness that there was not an estate of £60 a-year that was not distinctly marked with its true value. By agreement he was to receive a penny an acre from the army among whom

the lands were to be distributed. By his employment in this survey he is said to have acquired an estate of £5000 or £6000 a-year, and could from Mount Mangerton, in Kerry, behold 50,000 acres of his own land. He sat for the borough of West-Loe, in Cornwall, in Richard Cromwell's Parliament of 1659, and made some figure therein. After the fall of the Protector Dr Petty returned to Ireland, where he remained till the Restoration, when he returned to England, was introduced to the King, and graciously received. He was one of the first members of the Royal Society, and in March 1661 was appointed one of the Commissioners of the Court of Claims for Irish Estates, and by the Act of Settlement all the estates he had already acquired in Ireland were by special order of the King confirmed to him, and other lands assigned to him for his outstanding arrears. On April 11, 1661, he was knighted, and sat in the Irish Parliament of that year for Enniscorthy, in Wexford. In 1663 he increased his reputation greatly by inventing a double-bottomed ship, which sailed from Dublin to Holyhead with great success, and a model of which was deposited in Gresham College. He published a book called "Political Arithmetic," in which he laid down the rudiments of the science of figures of which the Society of Actuaries and the Statistical Society are now the chief promoters. Sir William Petty died at his house in Piccadilly on December 16, 1687. His will, which is of great length, contains a minute outline of his life, with all the details of his fortune-making, and minute directions not only as to the disposition of his property, but also to his family as to their proper use of it. It ends thus characteristically:—"As for religion, I die in the

profession of that faith and in the practice of such worship as I find established by the law of my country, not being able to believe what I myself please nor to worship God better than by doing as I would be done unto, and observing the laws of my country, and expressing my love and honour to Almighty God by such signs and tokens as are understood to be such by the people with whom I live, God knowing my heart even without any at all; and thus begging His Divine Majesty to make me what He would have me, both as to faith and good works, I willingly resign my soul into His hands, relying only on His infinite mercy and the merits of my Saviour for my happiness after this life, where I expect to know and see God more clearly than by the study of the Scriptures and His works I have been hitherto able to do. Grant me, O Lord, an easy passage to Thyself, that as I have lived in Thy fear I may be known to die in Thy favour. Amen." He left personal property to the value of £45,000, besides his real estate of £6500 a-year. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hardress Waller, of Castletown, Limerick, one of the High Court of Justice on Charles I., which lady was created Baroness of Shelburne, in the county of Wexford, for life, about a year after her husband's death, and died in February 1708.

Charles, eldest surviving son of Sir William, was created Baron of Shelburne (an Irish peerage) at the same time with his mother. The Parliament called by James in Ireland in 1689 attainted him and confiscated his estate, and that of his mother and brother, but on the success of William he was of course restored. He married a Kentish heiress, but died without issue

in April 1696, when his peerage became extinct. His younger brother, Henry, succeeded to the property, and in September 1696, obtained a re-grant of his lands in the county of Kerry (135 square miles—80,000 English acres), and these were all by a patent in 1721 created into the manor of Dunkerton, with special power to take cognisance and hold pleas, and all actions for debt, detinue, and trespass not exceeding £20 on each action. On March 14, 1699, he was appointed Joint Ranger and Gamekeeper of the Phœnix Park, Dublin, and all other forests and parks in Ireland; and by patent, dated June 16, 1699, he was created Baron of Shelburne and Viscount Dunkerton in the county of Kerry, and Earl of Shelburne by patent, April 29, 1719. In 1704 he was made one of Queen Anne's Privy Council, and was also of those of George I. and George II. He sat in the English Parliament for Great Marlow, in Buckinghamshire, in 1715, and for the borough of Chipping-Wycombe in the same county in the Parliament of 1722, having in 1700 purchased the manors of Temple-Wycombe, Loakes, and Windsor of Thomas Archdale, Esq. He enlarged and much improved the manor-house of Loakes, which became for the time the chief family seat. The estate was afterwards sold to Lord Carrington. His son James, Viscount Dunkerton, died in 1750, and the Earl himself in 1751, leaving no issue, and he bequeathed his great estates to his nephew, John Fitzmaurice, second son of Thomas, Earl of Kerry, who thus united the blood of the ancient Irish princes and their conquerors, the first Norman invaders, with the possession of the soil. He was not indeed the eldest representative of this branch of the

Florentine-Norman house, but as it chanced both lines centred in his grandson, and the twenty-fourth Baron of Kerry was the greatest proprietor in the county.

Possessed of the vast Petty estate, the younger Fitzmaurice, though lineal male descendant of a man who was noble before the Conquest, assumed the plebeian name of the family which had enriched him—a sacrifice English pedigree has never scrupled to make. It is property, not blood, which makes great English houses. On October 7, 1751, he was created Baron of Dunkerton and Viscount Fitzmaurice, and on June 26, 1753, Earl of Shelburne (all Irish peerages), and next year was returned to Parliament for Chipping-Wycombe, and on May 7, 1760, was made a peer of Great Britain as Baron Wycombe of Chipping-Wycombe. He died May 10, 1761, and was buried at Bowood, in Wiltshire, an estate in which place he had purchased from the creditors of Sir Orlando Bridgman, son of Charles II.'s Lord Keeper. This became and remains the principal seat of the family. He married his cousin, Mary Fitzmaurice; and his eldest son by her, William Petty, Earl of Shelburne and second Lord Wycombe, succeeded to the family property. He was the well-known statesman of the reign of George III., the colleague of Fox and Pitt.

This nobleman was born in May 1737, and educated first privately and then at Christ Church, Oxford, where he was remarkable for the regularity of his conduct. On leaving the University he entered the army, obtained a commission in the Guards, and served in the German campaign under Prince Ferdinand, distinguishing himself at the battles of Campen and Minden. At the close of the campaign he returned to England,

and in 1760 was appointed aide-de-camp to George III., with the rank of colonel, and he eventually lived to be the oldest general on the English Army List, though he had long abandoned it as a profession. At the general election in 1761 he was returned for Chipping-Wycombe, but about a month afterwards the death of his father removed him to the House of Peers. He now attached himself to politics, and at first was an adherent, or perhaps we should say a personal friend, of Lord Bute, mediating a political alliance in 1762 between him and Fox, Lord Holland, for the purpose of carrying the articles of the Peace of Fontainebleau, of which Lord Shelburne was then a warm advocate. But a misunderstanding occurred the next year between the parties to this personal agreement, and they appealed to the mediator as to the real nature of the terms, when he acknowledged with some embarrassment that he had in some degree extenuated or exaggerated the terms to each from his anxiety to secure the support of Fox. Lord Bute forgave this, calling it "a pious fraud." "I can see the fraud plain enough," said Fox, "but where is the piety?" This is the first public notice of the great imputation against Lord Shelburne's character which pursued him through life, and destroyed the influence which his very considerable talents would have otherwise insured. Though it is very difficult, if not impossible, to fix on definite acts of duplicity, there was a general feeling that Lord Shelburne was insincere. The "overstrained politeness of his address," says Lord Stanhope, "may have been one cause of this imputation. As I have heard from some who knew him, he could scarcely meet or part from any acquaintance without a profu-

sion of high-flown compliments and earnest inquiries." Certain it is that he got the epithet of "Malagrida," from a plotting Jesuit in Portugal, and his friends were called "Malagrida's gang." The 'Rolliad' thus satirises his casuistical style of speaking:—

> "A noble Duke affirms I like his plan;
> I never did, my Lords, I never can;
> Plain words, thank Heaven! are always understood:
> I *could* support, I said, but not I *would*."

As an orator he occupied a very high rank, Lord Camden, their common friend, declaring he was second only to Lord Chatham. He had great mastery of statement, and with this considerable business application and administrative talents, accompanied and supported by a very accurate and extensive knowledge of facts, derived not merely from his taking part in public affairs, but from a very thorough acquaintance with books of the most varied range of subjects. He had very just ideas on economical points—was a warm disciple of Adam Smith when such subjects were little cultivated among statesmen, and on this, as well as several other topics, was far in advance of his age. Thus he anticipated Peel in his recommendation of a new police. He was most liberal—a freethinker he was called—in his general opinions. He gathered around him at Bowood men of every religious opinion, and all the literary and scientific celebrities of the day. Architecture and ornamental gardening were his favourite pursuits in his country retirement, and he filled Bowood and Lansdowne House in London, with sculpture, paintings, and a rare collection of manuscripts, which after his death were sold to the British Museum, and form part of the national collection as the

Lansdowne manuscripts. He is said by those who knew him to have been eminently fitted for a second place in a government, possessing great mastery over details and much acuteness in discerning the characters of persons of inferior calibre, and being yet at the same time wanting in practical judgment in the wider questions of cabinet policy. Unfortunately his disposition, though gentle in manner, was ambitious, jealous, and somewhat assuming in his relations with his colleagues. He bowed to the genius of Chatham, and owned his superiority, but that of no one else, and he often, it is clear, incurred the suspicion of underhand dealing simply because he was too proud and self-sufficient to make his political associates confidants of his proceedings. Still there seems to have been something of a natural love of *finesse* in him, and an indirectness of action combined with a rather ostentatious profession of frankness which gave some colour to a far more severe judgment of his real character than the facts seem to warrant. How far the King is answerable for much of the imputed duplicity of Lord Shelburne it is not easy to determine. At first King George felt and expressed great dislike to him, but afterwards he seemed to seek him out and endeavour to distinguish him at the expense of his colleagues. Certain it is that after his final resignation of office Lord Shelburne spoke with great bitterness of the King's conduct to him, complaining of insincerity, treachery, and underhand dealing. On the formation of George Grenville's Ministry in 1763 Lord Shelburne became President of the Board of Trade; but five months afterwards, having been in close communication with the first Pitt, when George III. was endeavouring fruitlessly to induce that

statesman to form a Cabinet, and so enable him to get rid of George Grenville, Shelburne thought it expedient to resign. He entered the Pitt-Grafton Ministry in July 1766, as one of the principal Secretaries of State, but as soon as the common headship of Chatham was removed by illness Shelburne and Grafton quarrelled, and Grafton tells us the King was constantly urging him to get rid of Shelburne. This he at last did in October 1768, and thereupon Lord Chatham, intimating through Lady Chatham his deep regret at his dismissal, resigned also.

By this time Shelburne had adopted a firm and complete allegiance to Chatham,—and his political friendship to Lord Camden remained unbroken through their common lives. He now came to be considered as the head of that section of the Whig Opposition who were called "Lord Chatham's friends," and as such he fiercely denounced the Administration and the American war. An unsuccessful attempt made to gain him over to the Court, led to a negotiation with the Rockingham party, and Shelburne agreed to waive his claims to the Premiership, in case of the Opposition forcing their way into office. Accordingly, in 1782, on the formation of the Rockingham Ministry, Shelburne contented himself with the office of one of the two Secretaries of State, Charles James Fox being the other. The distribution of provinces between the two Secretaries was then somewhat ambiguous. Shelburne was *Home* Secretary, Fox *Foreign*, but the *Colonial* Department was attached to the *Home* Office, and America being still treated as a colony, in the negotiations for peace which followed, Shelburne sent his friend, a Mr Oswald, to Paris to treat with the *Ameri-*

can Government, and he was followed by Fox's friend, Thomas Grenville, who was accredited to treat with the *French* Government, and considered the representative of the English *Foreign* Office. Jealousies and mutual complaints soon ensued. Fox believed that Shelburne was using underhand means to encroach on his office and undermine him, and Shelburne was too proud or too indiscreet to do anything to remove the impression. On the death of Lord Rockingham the Cabinet fell to pieces. Fox proposed the Duke of Portland, the King played off Shelburne against the great Whig houses, and in July 1782, he became First Lord of the Treasury and Premier, and Fox and Cavendish seceded. William Pitt the younger was called to the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Then came the celebrated Fox-North coalition, which compelled Lord Shelburne to resign, February 24, 1783. The King complained that Shelburne deserted his post while it was still tenable, but it was not till after the employment in a sinister manner of the influence of the Crown that the way was paved for the dismissal of the Coalition Cabinet, and the bold enterprise of William Pitt, who had declined the task on Lord Shelburne's resignation, and the latter may therefore be excused for not remaining to participate in such proceedings. On the overthrow of the Coalition, it was generally expected that Lord Shelburne would be offered office by Chatham's aspiring son, whom he had himself introduced to office, but no such offer was made. Either the King disliked, or Pitt distrusted him; but instead of such an offer the Earl of Shelburne (Baron Wycombe in the English peerage) was raised to the higher titles of Viscount Calne and Calston,

Wiltshire, Earl Wycombe and Marquess of Lansdowne, county Somerset, December 6, 1784. The choice of this last title was dictated by the fact of the Earl having married Lady Sophia, daughter of John Carteret, Lord Granville, and granddaughter of Grace, Countess of Granville, aunt and coheiress of William Henry, third Earl of Bath and Viscount Lansdowne, of the Granville family. Lord Lansdowne now retired almost entirely from political life until after the breaking out of the French Revolution. He then re-appeared as the vehement opponent of any armed interference in the contest, and continued to oppose the war with France, and denounce the financial measures of the Government down to his death, May 7, 1805. By his first wife he had a son, John, who succeeded as second Marquess of Lansdowne; and marrying a second time the Lady Mary Fitzpatrick, daughter of the Earl of Upper Ossory, he had by her a son, Henry, who was just rising into political eminence at the time of his father's death.

The career of the second Marquess was a short and not a creditable one. He gambled, cut down the fine timber trees at Bowood, neglected the estate, sold his father's collections, and completely clouded by his follies what had been in early life the promise of a distinguished career. He died, however, without issue, November 15, 1809, and was succeeded as third Marquess by his brother, Lord Henry Petty. This nobleman was born July 2, 1780, educated at Westminster and Trinity College, Cambridge, and entering Parliament at the age of twenty-two, for Calne, did not give any indications of particular abilities till February 1804, on the Irish Bank Restriction Bill. When Pitt

was forming his new Ministry, he endeavoured to persuade the son of his old colleague to accept office. Lord Henry, however, declined, having resolved to adhere to Fox. In the following year, just before his father's death, he made a speech in the House on the resolutions against Lord Melville, which called forth general encomiums, especially from Fox and Tierney. On the formation of the Fox-Grenville Ministry in 1806, he was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, being at the same time returned as member for the University of Cambridge in the room of Pitt. He resigned with that short-lived Ministry on the Catholic Emancipation question, on which he entertained a strong opinion, which, from his great Irish estates, was particularly conspicuous. He also lost his seat for the University, and was returned for Camelford, for which he sat till he succeeded in 1809 to the Marquessate. In 1820 he made a speech in favour of free trade, in 1822 a motion on Irish grievances, and in 1824 strongly urged the recognition of the South American Republics. In 1826, on Mr Canning forming a Liberal-Conservative Ministry, Lord Lansdowne joined him with a section of the Whigs, taking office as Home Secretary. Under Canning's successor, Lord Goderich, he was Foreign Secretary, and on the dissolution of that Cabinet went into opposition to the Duke of Wellington's Ministry, and continued so till its dissolution, when he again took office under Lord Grey as President of the Council in the first Reform Ministry. He held this office, whenever the Whigs were in power, down to the dissolution of Lord John Russell's Cabinet in 1852, and when the Premier was not in the Upper House, led the Whig Peers. When the Derby Cabinet was upset

in the December of that year, the Queen offered him the Premiership of a new Cabinet; but he declined, consenting, however, to enter the Aberdeen Coalition Cabinet without holding an office. From this time till his death, January 31, 1863, he continued to act as confidential and extraordinary adviser to the Queen, succeeding the Duke of Wellington in that exceptional position, and his decease was, next to that of the Prince Consort, the greatest political blow her Majesty has sustained. He was not, however, an absolutist, and never quite lost a feeling which is almost universal among the Whig magnates—a hereditary jealousy of the power of the Throne, and dislike of the tendencies of the family which now occupies it, a dislike from which only the present Queen has in a hundred and fifty years been excepted. He had considerable abilities; but his great and increasing reputation was based on his constitutional and liberal principles, his moderation and good sense, his accurate and extensive acquirements, and his great social position as a liberal and generous patron of literature and men of literature, science, and the fine arts, and his splendid hospitalities at Lansdowne House and Bowood. He married a daughter of the Earl of Ilchester, and by her had an eldest son of great promise—William Thomas, by courtesy Earl of Kerry—who died August 21, 1836, without male issue; and another son—Henry, by courtesy Earl of Shelburne—who was summoned to the House of Lords in his father's barony of Wycombe, and is the present and fourth Marquess of Lansdowne. The present Marquess has been a Lord of the Treasury, and Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, but has not made any political position beyond that commanded

by his social rank. He married first, in 1840, a daughter of the eleventh Earl of Pembroke, and sister of the late Sidney Herbert; and secondly, in 1843, the eldest daughter of the Count de Flahault and the Baroness Keith and Nairne, by whom he has two sons. The late Marquess, on attaining to the family estates of the Fitzmaurices, resumed their name in addition to that of Petty.

The house has been, on the whole, a real addition to the political strength of the country; but something of the Italian character, the disposition to succeed by *finesse*, and grace, and perseverance, sticks to it still. To rank among the very first, its members must have more force.

The Herberts.

E would rather be enemies of the Herberts than their annalists. Not in England is there a family of which the history is so inextricable, so confused by multitudinous branches, so conglomerated by interlineal marriages, so burdened with whole races all bearing the same name.

The origin of this family is lost in obscurity. Its real *founder* was WILLIAM HERBERT, lord of Ragland, in Monmouthshire. Beyond him, all is doubtful and disputed, the genealogists and antiquarians being totally at variance with one another.* It is, however, certain that William Herbert had a younger brother Richard, who became the ancestor of the Lords Herbert of Cherbury, and of the late, and through an heiress of the present, Earls of Powis. William Herbert attached himself in the Wars of the Roses to the cause of the house of York with un-

* Some of these pedigrees may be seen in Collins' 'Peerage' by Sir E. Brydges; and another (reaching to the time of the Plantagenet Edwards) was kindly communicated to us by one of the most learned of our Welsh antiquaries. But all stand in need of documentary evidence; and we own to a rooted distrust of pedigrees in which the "*aps*" form a prominent feature.

wavering fidelity, and so distinguished himself, both in the field and in council, that on the accession of Edward IV. in 1461, he became one of the most influential members of that King's Council of State, under the designation of Sir William Herbert, Knight, and on the 8th of May in that year had a grant of the offices of Chief Justice and Chamberlain of South Wales, with the Stewardship of the Commons of the shires of Caermarthen and Cardigan, and the office of Chief Forester in those counties for life. On the 26th of July he was summoned to Parliament as "William Herbert de Herbert," and became a Baron of the realm. On September the 7th he had a grant of the Stewardship of the castle and lordship of Brecknock, and of all other the castles of Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, in South Wales. On the 3d of February 1462, by letters patent reciting his great services in discomfiting the Lancastrian lords, Henry, Duke of Exeter, Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, and James, Earl of Wiltshire, a grant was made to Lord Herbert in general tail of the castle, town, and lordship of Pembroke, of the hundred and lordship of Castle Martin, the lordship of St Florence, the lordship and forest of Coydrath; the castle, lordship, and town of Tenby; the lordships and bailiwicks of West Pembroke and East Pembroke; the bailiwicks of Dougledy, Rons, and Kemys; the moiety of the ferry of Burton; the castle, town, and lordship of Gilgarron; the lordships and manors of Emlyn, Memordyve, and Diffynbrian, the forest of Kenendryn; the castle, lordship, and town of Lanstephan; the lordships and manors of Penrya and Le Verie, of Osterlowe, Trayne, Clyntone, and St Clare, of

Magoure and Redwyke; the castle, manor, town, and lordship of Goderich; and the lordship and manor of Urchenfield, with its appurtenances in the marches of Wales and county of Hereford; also of the manor and lordship of Walwenes Castle, part of the possessions of James Butler, Earl of Wiltshire, attainted. Next year Lord Herbert was made a Knight of the Garter, and accompanied King Edward in an expedition into the North. In the 3d of Edward he was made a Justice in the county of Merioneth; and on the 16th of June had a grant of the honour, castle, manor, and borough of Dunster, in Somerset, with the manors of Minehead, Carhampton, and hundred of Carhampton, the manor of Escantok *alias* Cantokeshed and Ivelon; the manors of Chilton and Blancome in Devonshire, Stonehall and Wodehall in Suffolk; and of all other the lands of Sir James Lutterell, Knight, which by his attainder came to the Crown. In October 1466, Edward being determined to raise a new nobility to counteract the old feudal aristocracy, and to intermarry these new peers with the relations of his Queen, Elizabeth Woodville, made a match between Maria, sister of the Queen, and William, eldest son of Lord Herbert. From this time at least Lord Herbert incurred the deadly hatred of the old nobility, at the head of whom stood Warwick the Kingmaker. King Edward, however, continued to heap honours on him. In the 7th year of his reign he made him Chief Justice of North Wales for life, and he was also made constable of the castles of Caermarthen and Cardigan, and on the 8th of September 1468 was created Earl of Pembroke, and had the same year a grant in

general tail of the castle, town, borough, and manor of Haverford West, and was constituted Chief Forester of Snowdon, Constable of Conway Castle, and Governor of that town. In the August of this year Harlech Castle was taken by the Earl and his brother, Sir Richard Herbert, his constant companion in his warlike achievements. This was considered a great feat, and is recited as such in the patent creating the Earldom. The Lancastrian captain who held it had been a soldier in the wars of France, and said that, whereas he had kept a castle so long in that country that he made the old women in Wales talk of him, he would now keep Harlech Castle so long that he would make the old women of France talk of him. Nevertheless he surrendered to Sir Richard Herbert, on condition that the latter should do all he could to save his life. King Edward, however, repudiated Sir Richard's authority to grant life to any one, and would have executed the prisoner if Sir Richard had not entreated him either to restore the captain to his stronghold, and send some one else to take him out, or to take his, Sir Richard's, life instead, which was the best proof he could give the captain of having done his best to save his life. The King, thereupon, granted Sir Richard the captain's life, but refused to bestow on him any other reward for the service he had performed in taking the castle. Sir Richard was less successful with his own brother, the stern Earl of Pembroke. The Earl having taken prisoners seven brothers who were outlaws, and had committed many evil deeds and murders, ordered them all to be hanged. Their mother coming to the Earl, upon her knees entreated him to pardon two at least of her

sons, and Sir Richard seconded her request. But the Earl said they were all equally guilty, and he could make no distinction. They were accordingly all hanged. On this the mother, "with a pair of woollen beads on her arms," on her knees cursed the Earl, praying God's mischief might fall to him in the first battle he should make. So ran the tradition in Sir Richard's family. The following year (1469) the curse was realised. Warwick and Clarence had raised an insurrection in the north, directed nominally against the Queen's family and the new peers. Their own connection with it was still unavowed, but they secretly directed it. King Edward advanced to Newark to meet the insurgents, but finding them too strong, fell back to Nottingham, and sent to Pembroke and Lord Stafford to join him. But the insurgents were too rapid for them, and cut off their junction with the Royal forces. Pembroke and his brother had 7000 or 8000 men, Stafford 5000, chiefly archers from Somerset and Devon. They encountered the Northerners at Hedecote or Edgecote, near Banbury, and were repulsed by them, the insurgents thereupon posting themselves on a hill near Banbury to await the arrival of Warwick and Clarence. The Earl and Lord Stafford resolved to attack them here at once, but unfortunately quarrelling about their lodgings at an inn, Stafford marched off the field with his archers, and left the Herberts to fight alone. There is a tradition that after the Earl had put his men in order of battle he found his brother, Sir Richard, at the head of his men, leaning upon his poleaxe in a pensive manner. Whereupon the Earl said, "What, doth thy great body [for he was higher

by the head than any one in the army] apprehend anything, that thou art so melancholy?—or art thou weary with marching, that thou dost lean thus upon thy poleaxe?" Sir Richard replied that he was neither, of which the Earl should see proof presently, "Only," said he, "I cannot but apprehend on your part lest the curse of the woman with the woollen beads fall upon you." The battle proved fatal to both brothers. The Earl fought desperately, and Sir Richard twice cut his way with his poleaxe through the opposing army; but at last they were overpowered, and taken prisoners. Four thousand Welsh fell, and fifteen hundred of the Northerners. The two distinguished prisoners were carried to Northampton, and there, the next day, July 27, 1469, they were both beheaded, by order from Warwick and Clarence. Such were the usual sequels of victories in "the ruthless wars of the White and Red."

Earl Pembroke made his will, which still remains, on the day of his death, and it is in the form of a request to his wife to discharge the duties of guardian and executor. "Wyfe, pray for me," it ends, "and take ye said office yat ye promised me, as ye had in my lyfe my heart and love. God have mercy upon me, and save you and our children, and Our Lady and all the Saints in heaven help me to salvation." His wife was Anne, daughter of Sir Walter Devereux, and sister of the first Lord Ferrers of Chartley, the ancestor of the Earls of Essex. By her he had William, his heir and successor in his honours, and three other sons. He also left by his mistress, Maud, daughter and heiress of Adam-ap-Howell Graunt, two illegitimate sons, the elder of

whom, Sir Richard Herbert of Ewyas, is the ancestor of the present Earls of Pembroke and Carnarvon.

We had better first exhaust the legitimate lines. William, second Earl of Pembroke, was not a man of any mark. In 1479, King Edward being desirous of investing his son, Prince Edward, with the Earldom of Pembroke, it was resigned to him by William Herbert, who instead was, on July 4, 1479, created Earl of Huntingdon. He was one of those who followed King Edward's body as chief mourners; but he seems to have acquiesced in the assumption of the government by Richard of Gloucester, and was constituted, November 13, 1483, Justice of South Wales, notwithstanding his marriage with a sister of Queen Elizabeth Woodville. Her death may have contributed to this result, for we find the Earl, on February 29, 1484, entering into covenants with King Richard to take his daughter, "Dame Catherine Plantagenet," to wife before the Feast of St Michael following, and to make her a jointure of lands to £200 a-year, the King undertaking to settle lands and lordships on them and their heirs-male of 1000 marks a-year,—600 at once, and the rest after the death of Thomas Lord Stanley; they to receive in the mean time instead 400 marks per annum out of the lordships of Newport, Brecknock, and Hay, and the King to be at the charge of the wedding. The young lady, however, died before the marriage took place. When Richmond landed in Wales the Herberts wavered between the two parties, somewhat like the Stanleys, Richmond counting on the support of the Earl's brother, Sir Walter, and then being greatly alarmed at reports that he was in arms to bar his progress. Had the Herberts stood by the

house of York at this juncture, the little army of Richmond must have been crushed before it could have entered England; but seemingly the Woodville interest prevailed with them, and we find the Earl of Huntingdon one of the peers summoned to the first Parliament of Henry VII. in 1486. He died in 1491, leaving only a daughter, Elizabeth, who married Sir Charles Somerset, natural son of Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, and thus "carried away the fair castle of Ragland, with many thousand pounds yearly from the heir-male" of the Herberts. From this marriage descends the present Duke of Beaufort. The lines of all the legitimate brothers of the second Earl of Pembroke and Earl of Huntingdon died out or ended in females, one of whom, the heiress of the line of Sir George Herbert of St Julian's, married, as we shall see, the first Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

This Cherbury branch were derived from Sir Richard Herbert, of Montgomery Castle, a younger son of that Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook who was beheaded at Northampton with his brother, the first Earl of Pembroke. He was steward, in the time of Henry VIII., of the lordships and marches of North Wales, East Wales, and Cardiganshire, and in this capacity acquired a singular reputation for justice. He followed diligently the family example of hunting out and punishing outlaws and thieves, but he made little money out of this employment. His son, Edward, after spending most of his means at Court, became a soldier, and served in France, Scotland, and the various civil contests in England during the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary with good success. He had the spirit of accumulation much more than

his father, and acquired so much money that he was enabled to purchase the greater part of the estates which descended to the Lords Herbert of Cherbury. He occupied himself afterwards in hunting down the outlaws in the mountains of Montgomeryshire, and his power and reputation became very great in the district. He kept open house, had a table twice covered every week with the best that could be got, and kept a great establishment. In his old age he built a large low house at Blackhall, and removed there from Montgomery Castle. He sent his sons to the University, and settled them all on different estates. Three of them became the ancestors of peers —viz., Richard, Matthew, and Charles. Richard, the eldest son, described by his son Lord Herbert as "black-haired and bearded, as all my ancestors of his side are said to have been, of a manly and somewhat stern look, but withal very handsome and well compact in his limbs," was a man of great courage, which he displayed signally in an attempt to assassinate him in the churchyard of Lanervil, where, with the assistance of one John-ap-Howell Corbet, he put his assailants to flight, and, though severely wounded, walked home to his house at Llyssyn. He was a Deputy-Lieutenant of the county and a Justice of the Peace, and a man of some acquirements, and his son claims for him the reputation that his personal enemies found justice at his hands. He had seven sons and three daughters by his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Richard Newport, who used to say of the number of her children that it was Job's number and Job's distribution, "and bless God that they were neither defective in their shapes nor in their reason."

Two of her sons were remarkable men, Edward, the eldest, first Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and George, the fifth son, the well-known religious poet and author of the prose work 'The Priest to the Temple.' Of him Lord Herbert says, "My brother George was so excellent a scholar that he was made the public orator of the University in Cambridge, some of whose English works are extant, which though they be rare in their kind, yet are far short of expressing those perfections he had in the Greek and Latin tongues and all divine and human literature. His life was most holy and exemplary, inasmuch that about Salisbury, where he lived beneficed for many years, he was little less than sainted. He was not exempt from passion and choler, being infirmities to which all our race is subject, but that excepted, without reproach in his actions." He was born April 3, 1593, and had studied foreign languages in hopes of rising to be Secretary of State; but being disappointed at Court, took orders and became Prebend of Leighton Bromswold in 1626, and in 1630 Rector of Bemerton, near Salisbury, and died in 1632. His mother was a remarkable woman, who after the death of her husband took the entire management of her sons, and is said to have acted in this office with the greatest judgment. She continued a widow for twelve years, and then married Sir John Danvers (one of the High Court of Justice on Charles I., whose heiress married the strange Villiers of the Purbeck branch). Dr Donne celebrates her mature beauty thus—

> "No spring nor summer beauty has such grace
> As I have seen in an autumnal face."

Her eldest son, Edward, one of the most eccentric

characters of his age, was born in 1581, at Montgomery. He went to Oxford, his mother and her elder children accompanying him there, and became a member of University College. In 1598, at the age of seventeen, he married Mary Herbert, daughter of Sir William Herbert, and heiress of the St Julian's branch, a lady six years his senior, but who by her father's will incurred forfeiture of the greater part of her property if she married any but a Herbert. The very handsome lad Edward Herbert was her choice, but the marriage does not appear, from her husband's account, to have been ultimately a happy one. He returned with his wife to Oxford, and there pursued his studies with great assiduity till 1600, when he came to London. Thence he proceeded to the Continent, and distinguished himself in the Netherlands along with the English forces there. He was constantly seeking and incurring all kinds of unnecessary dangers, and became a great duellist, and a gallant expert in all the accomplishments of the time, love-making included; but the courtship seems generally to have proceeded in the first place from the ladies themselves. On his return home, after the accession of James I., his learning recommended him to the notice of that King, and he was made a Knight of the Bath, and in 1616 sent Ambassador to France. Here he quarrelled with the French favourite, De Luynes, and was recalled at the request of the French King; but on the death of De Luynes was again sent to Paris in the same capacity. Here he published (1624) his work '*Tractatus de Veritate, prout distinguitur à Revelatione, à Verisimili, à Possibili, et à Falso.*' He returned to England the next year, and was created an Irish peer

as Baron Herbert, of Castle Island, Kerry, the 31st of December 1624. From this time he lived either among the gaieties of the Court or immersed in literary pursuits. On the 7th of May 1629 he was made an English peer, as Baron Herbert of Cherbury, in Shropshire. In 1645 a third edition of his '*Tractatus*' appeared, accompanied with a treatise '*De Religione Gentilium, Errorumque apud eos Causis.*' When the Civil War broke out he at first espoused the cause of the Parliament, but subsequently abandoned it, and died August 20, 1648. He maintained the theory of innate ideas, and made a "certain instinct of the reason the primary source of all human knowledge." He made religion consequently to be grounded "not on revelation or historical tradition, but on an immediate consciousness of God and of divine things." His faith thus formed was that "there is a God whom man ought to honour and reverence; a life of holiness is the most acceptable worship that can be offered Him; sinners must repent them of their sins, and strive to become better; and after death every one must expect the rewards or penalties befitting the acts of this life." He was succeeded as second Lord Herbert of Cherbury by his son Richard, who was in great favour with Charles I., and died in 1655, leaving a family, of whom his sons Edward and Henry became successively third and fourth Lords Herbert of Cherbury, but left no issue, the latter, who rose in arms in Worcestershire for the Prince of Orange at the Revolution, dying April 21, 1691, when the first peerage of Cherbury became extinct. But on the 28th of April 1694 it was revived in the person of Henry Herbert, son and heir of Sir Henry Herbert, sixth brother of the first Lord Herbert

of Cherbury, and Master of the Revels to James I. Henry, the first Lord Herbert of Cherbury of the second creation, died January 22, 1709, and was succeeded by his son Henry, second Lord Herbert, who died in April 1738, without issue, the title thus becoming a second time extinct. It was revived again, in 1743, in the person of a descendant of Matthew Herbert of Dolgûog, uncle of the first and celebrated Lord Herbert of Cherbury. This Matthew "went to the Low Country wars, and after some time spent there came home, and lived in the country at Dolgûog," near Machynlleth, "upon a house and fair living," says Lord Herbert, "which my grandfather bestowed upon him." His grandson, Richard Herbert of Dolgûog, and Oakley Park, Shropshire, married Florence, sister of Edward and Henry, third and fourth Lords Herbert of Cherbury, of the first line,—and their son, Francis Herbert of Dolgûog, left a son, Henry Arthur, who becoming in 1738 heir-male of the family, was, on December 21, 1743, created Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

The new peer, marrying Barbara, niece and heiress of William Herbert, third Earl and Marquess of Powis (whose lineage we shall have presently to notice), was created, on the 27th of May 1748, Baron Powis of Powis Castle, Viscount Ludlow (Shropshire), and Earl of Powis. He died 1772, and was succeeded as second Earl of Powis by his son, George Edward Henry Arthur, who died unmarried January 16, 1801, when all his honours became extinct. His sister, Lady Henrietta-Antonia, however, having married Edward, Lord Clive, the latter, on the 14th of May 1804, was created Baron Herbert of Cherbury, Baron Powis of Powis Castle, Viscount Clive of Ludlow, and Earl of

Powis; and his grandson, Edward James Herbert (which name the family have assumed instead of Clive) is the third and present Earl of Powis, and thus through heiresses represents the legitimate line of the Herbert family.

Another peerage also had been created in the line of Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrooke and become extinct. Charles Herbert, younger brother of Matthew Herbert of Dolgûog, and uncle of the first Lord Herbert of Cherbury, left a son who, as Sir Edward Herbert, became distinguished in the reign of Charles I., and as his Attorney-General got into trouble for preferring the accusation against the five members in January 1642. He adhered to the Royal cause during the Civil War, and followed Prince Charles into exile, where he became his titular Chancellor, but died in 1657, leaving his children, who had remained in England with their mother, in great indigence. His sons ran different careers; but two of them experienced not very dissimilar fates. Arthur entered the navy, rose to be Rear-Admiral under James II., and was made Master of the Robes. He was much beloved by the sailors, and reckoned one of the best naval officers the aristocracy produced. "He was heedless of religion, fond of pleasure and expense, had no private estate, and his places brought him in £4000 a-year; and besides, he had been long reckoned one of the most devoted of the personal adherents of James." But when, at a private interview, the King himself solicited him to vote for the repeal of the Test Act, he said that his honour and conscience would not allow him to give any such pledge. "Nobody doubts your honour," said the King, "but a man who lives as

you do ought not to talk about his conscience." Herbert coolly replied, "I have many faults, Sir, but I could name people who talk much more about conscience than I am in the habit of doing, and yet lead lives as loose as mine." On this home-retort to the King he was dismissed from all his places, and his accounts as Master of the Robes most severely scrutinised. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that Arthur Herbert readily listened to the overtures of the Prince of Orange, and engaged to use his influence with the navy in William's behalf. He undertook to convey to the Prince the invitation of the nobles, and did so, dressed as a common sailor, reaching the Dutch coast just after the trial of the Bishops. When the Dutch fleet sailed for England, Herbert commanded the rear squadron, the post of danger, and in which were placed all the English sailors. On the success of the Revolution he was thanked by the House of Commons and raised to the peerage, May 29, 1689, as Baron Herbert of Torbay, Devonshire, and Earl of Torrington; and after an indecisive encounter with the French fleet in Bantry Bay was made first Commissioner of the Admiralty. But, spoilt by prosperity, he sank again hopelessly into a voluptuary, and left the fleet idle month after month in harbour while he revelled in London. He soon got the nickname of Lord Tarry-in-Town. He carried his debauchery on board ship, and his flag-ship became a little Versailles, in which he was waited on and even dressed by his captains. He was also almost constantly intoxicated. The whole fleet soon became demoralised, and the victuallers took the opportunity of his apathy to supply the most atrocious provisions.

Meanwhile the French cruisers swept the Channel, and the merchant service, finding they could secure an English convoy only by heavy bribes, had recourse to Dutch privateers. In 1690 a new Admiralty commission was issued, and Torrington displaced; but his reputation as a sailor was so high that his anger was appeased by a pension of £3000 a-year, and a grant of ten thousand acres of Crown-lands in the Peterborough Level, and he remained in command of the fleet. Soon after, a large French fleet appeared in the Channel, and Torrington, with the combined English and Dutch ships, sailed to the Isle of Wight to oppose it; but, losing heart at its superiority of numbers, retreated towards the Straits of Dover, till stopped off Beachy Head by a positive and angry order from the Council of Regency to fight the enemy. He gave battle accordingly on the 30th of June, was defeated, and took refuge in the Thames. He is said to have left, through spite, all the brunt of the fight to the Dutch. This may explain why, when in December he had been tried by a court-martial and acquitted, the English sailors still retained a feeling for him; but William dismissed him from the service. He died April 14, 1716, without issue, and his titles then became extinct. His brother Edward entered the law as a profession, and in the reign of Charles II. was sent as Attorney-General to Ireland. On his return from this in 1685 his strong absolutist opinions (for he held the five members as culpable as the regicides) and his pleasant manners obtained for him favour at Court. He was made Chief Justice of Chester and Attorney-General to the Duke of York, and knighted. He obtained no leading practice at the bar, and was looked upon as a

mere *dilettante* lawyer, but was nevertheless next appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and was sworn a member of the Privy Council. Burnet admits him to have been "a well-bred and virtuous man, gracious and good-natured." In June 1686 he pronounced judgment in favour of the King's dispensing power. He rose to such favour with King James in consequence that he was expected to supplant Jeffreys as Chancellor; but refusing to admit the King's power to exercise martial law in time of peace, or to sanction the execution of a deserter unlawfully convicted, he fell into disgrace, and was degraded from the Chiefship of the King's Bench to that of the Common Pleas. But at the Revolution, unlike his brother Arthur, he adhered to James, followed him into exile, and was appointed, like his father, titular Chancellor of England. He was created at the same time by James, Baron Portland of Portland, Dorset, and, on the other hand, excepted by the English Parliament from the Act of Indemnity. But as a Protestant he was not allowed to sit at James's Council Board. He died in exile, in 1698, at Paris, and was buried in the same cemetery as his father. A third brother (the eldest), Charles, rose to be a General, and died fighting for King William at the battle of Aghrim in 1691. To him the Earldom of Torrington had been limited, in case of his surviving his brother Arthur.

Having thus exhausted the legitimate line of the Herberts we now come to the descendants of Richard Herbert of Ewyas, the illegitimate son of William, first Earl of Pembroke, by Maud Graunt. This Sir Richard of Ewyas—who must be carefully distinguished from the Sir Richard of Colebrooke (the Earl's brother,

who was the ancestor of the legitimate lines of Herbert) —had also a seat at Grove Radnor, in Herefordshire, and lies buried at Abergavenny. He married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir Matthew Cradock, of Swansea, Glamorganshire, by whom he left issue three sons, the eldest of whom, William Herbert, was the founder of a new line of Earls. In the 26th of Henry VIII., being then Esquire of the Body to the King, he had a grant with John Basset of the office of Attorney-General in Glamorganshire, and to himself alone of the office of Receiver of the King's Revenues there during life. In the 28th of that reign he had an annuity granted him of £46, 13s. 4d. On January 24, 1544, he was made Captain of the castle and town of Aberystwith, with the custody of Carmarthen Castle for life. In the same year he was knighted, and had a grant to himself and Anne his wife of the house and site of the late abbey of WILTON, in Wiltshire (the revenues of which at the time of dissolution, according to Dugdale, were £601, 1s. 1¼d.,—according to Speed, £652, 11s. 5¼d. per annum), and of divers lands in that county, and in Hampshire, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. This great grant was probably owing to his connection with the Royal Family, his wife Anne being sister of Queen Catherine Parr. He had also licence to retain thirty persons, at his will and pleasure, over and above all such persons as attend on him, and to give them his livery, badges, and cognizance. Being Chief Gentleman of the Privy Chamber and of the Privy Council to Henry VIII., at his death he was made by him one of his executors, was named for a legacy of £300, and appointed one of the counsellors to Prince Edward. At the funeral he and Sir Anthony Denny were the

only persons who rode to Windsor on the same chariot with the King's body. On the accession of Edward, Sir William Herbert threw himself warmly into all the measures of the Protestant Council, raised forces and aided in the suppression of the insurrection in Wiltshire and Somerset in the third year of the reign, was made Master of the Horse, and with Lord Russell marched to suppress another and more formidable insurrection in Devonshire and Cornwall. He led 1000 of his Welshmen to Exeter, and, as we have already seen in our account of the Russells, the insurgents were crushed, Sir William, at his own request to Lord Russell, commanding the van in the encounter at Sampford-Courtney. On his return, Sir William was, on December 1, 1548, elected a Knight of the Garter; and on April 8 following (1549) was appointed Lord President of the Council in the Marches of Wales, with a grant of 500 marks a-year, and soon after received the wardship of Henry Wriotthesley, Earl of Southampton. He twice commanded the forces sent into Vermandois, was twice Governor of Calais, and on October 10, 1551, was created Baron Herbert of Cardiff, and the next day Earl of Pembroke. He owed these titles to his adherence to Dudley in the crisis of the struggle between him and the Duke of Somerset; and on December 1 in the same year he was one of the peers who sat at the trial of the Duke. His wife Anne died in 1551, at his house of Baynard's Castle, and he gave her a magnificent funeral at St Paul's. He was one of the noblemen and gentlemen who raised and equipped bodies of men for the King's service in 1552, and on the 26th of May in that year he appeared in Greenwich Park with his men in coats of embroidery,

following a standard of red, white, and blue, with a green dragon with an arm in its mouth. On February 17, 1553, he rode into London, and to his house of Baynard's Castle, with 300 horse in his retinue—100 of them gentlemen, in blue cloth with chains of gold, and badges of a dragon on their sleeves. In the same year, on surrendering his place of Master of the Horse, he had a grant of the manor of Dunyate, in Somersetshire, with other lands and possessions, and the keepership of Clarendon and several other forests and parks, to him and his son for their lives. Hitherto he had firmly adhered to Dudley, and shared his counsels. Just before the death of the King, when Lady Jane Grey was married to Northumberland's son, Lord Guildford Dudley, a match had been made between her sister Catherine Grey and Pembroke's eldest son, Henry, Lord Herbert. The Earl had appended his signature, seemingly willingly, to Edward's new disposition of the crown, and was one of the first to pay his allegiance to Queen Jane. But whether it was that the crafty nobleman read in the signs of the times the approaching downfall of Dudley's plans, or whether he thought he could make better terms by betraying than by supporting his friend, he not only failed him in the first hour of trial, but soon after put himself forward ostentatiously in favour of Mary. Mr Froude thus describes his position at this crisis:—"Pembroke, in the black volume of appropriations, was the most deeply compromised. Pembroke, in Wilts and Somerset, where his new lands lay, was hated for his oppression of the poor, and had much to fear from a Catholic sovereign, could a Catholic sovereign obtain the reality as well as the name of power,—Pembroke, so said

Northumberland, had been the first to propose the conspiracy to him, while his eldest son had married Catherine Grey. But as Northumberland's designs began to ripen, he had endeavoured to steal from the Court. He was a distinguished soldier, yet he was never named to command the army which was to go against Mary. Lord Herbert's marriage was outward and nominal merely,—a form which had not yet become a reality, and never did. Although Pembroke was the first of the Council to do homage to Jane, Northumberland evidently doubted him. He was acting, and would continue to act, for his own personal interests only. With his vast estates and vast hereditary influence in South Wales and on the Border, he could bring a larger force into the field than any other single nobleman in England; and he could purchase the secure possession of his acquisitions by a well-timed assistance to Mary as readily as by lending his strength to buttress the throne of her rival." He attempted to evade the *surveillance* under which the Council were kept at the Tower; failed once, but at last, with Arundel and others, succeeded in reaching his house of Baynard's Castle, where they harangued the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and chief citizens in favour of Mary, Pembroke declaring, "If words are not enough, this blade shall make Mary Queen, or I will lose my life." Of course, on the triumph of that Queen he was received into favour; yet when Wyat rose, nominally to oppose the Spanish match, but really to depose Mary and place Elizabeth on the throne, Pembroke for several weeks wavered, and the Greys at one time thought they had gained him, or at least that he would stand neutral. When Gardiner advised Mary to fly, and the Imperial

Ambassador entreated her to remain, the Queen declared that she would be guided by Pembroke and Clinton, and if they would stand by her she would remain and see out the struggle. Pembroke then decided on supporting her, and promised to defend her with his life. But his previous lukewarmness had rendered this now no easy task. His cavalry and his archers checked but could not wholly arrest the march of Wyat through London; Courtenay and his part of the Royal troops fled, crying that all was lost; cries were raised throughout the Palace that Pembroke had played false; but Mary remained unshaken, and the enterprise of Wyat failed. On November 9, 1554, Pembroke rode into London, to attend the Parliament, with a retinue of 2000 horsemen and 60 gentlemen, all richly equipped as before described, and carried the sword before Philip and Mary. In 1557 he was appointed Captain-General of the Queen's Army beyond the Seas, and brought to the siege of St Quentin's 1000 horse, 4000 foot, and 2000 "pioneers," or, as we should now call them, "engineers."

On the accession of Elizabeth, Pembroke was of course at once welcomed to her Council table, and appointed one of those who were to settle the alterations in religion, and administer the oath of supremacy. For some years he continued a loyal subject to his new sovereign, but at last, in 1569, fretting under the ascendancy of Burghley, he engaged in a plot with the Duke of Norfolk and the Earls of Arundel and Leicester against that nobleman. At first they absented themselves from Court, and, when the Queen inquired the reason, protested against Burghley's counsels. The Queen warmly defended him, but

Burghley himself bent for the moment to the combination and bided his time, confining himself meanwhile more strictly to his administrative duties. He had not long to wait. Failing to remove Burghley from Elizabeth's side by an application to the Queen, Pembroke and Arundel hit on the dangerous expedient of compelling the Queen to follow their advice by making a match between Norfolk and the captive Queen of Scots. They with Leicester addressed a letter to Mary, in which they offered to procure her restoration to the throne of Scotland, and her succession to Elizabeth, on certain conditions,—somewhat similar to those which were subsequently proposed by the younger Cecil to King James, but with the addition of the match with Norfolk. On achieving this match and the release of Mary, the noblemen thought they could, at the head of the nobility, alarm Elizabeth into any concessions. But she had already got the threads of the conspiracy into her hands, and Leicester hastened to purchase forgiveness by abandoning his colleagues. Norfolk, Pembroke, and Arundel left London, the first returning again on an order from the Queen, and being committed to the Tower. Pembroke and Arundel were forbidden the Queen's presence, and Pembroke confined to his own house. Thus the Herbert, like the Stanley, tried his hand against Elizabeth, and failed. The Earl of Pembroke died at Hampton Court on March 17 of the following year, 1570, and thus escaped the dangerous temptation of engaging in further plots. He left two sons, Henry, who succeeded him as second Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Edward Herbert, of Powis Castle, Montgomeryshire, ancestor of the Marquesses of Powis. Powis

Castle was a purchase made by the Herberts in the reign of Elizabeth. Sir Edward Herbert left a son, Sir William, who was made a Knight of the Bath, and on the 2d of April 1629 was created Baron Powis, and died March 7, 1655. By his wife Eleanor, daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, he had a son and successor, Percy, second Baron Powis, who had been created a baronet in the lifetime of his father (November 16, 1622), and died in 1667. His son and successor, William, was, on the 4th of April 1674, created *Earl* of Powis. He was considered the leading Catholic peer in England, and as such was one of the five Catholic lords sent to the Tower in 1678. Warmly attached to the Duke of York, he was, after his accession as James II., on the 26th of March 1687, created Viscount Montgomery and Marquess of Powis. He was a man of moderate views and high personal character, more generally respected and liked in England than any other Catholic. He endeavoured to oppose the more violent party in the councils of James, and particularly Tyrconnel — "lying Dick Talbot." But on the Revolution he retired to France with his Royal master, and was outlawed by the English Parliament. James afterwards gave him the additional *titular* honours of Marquess of Montgomery and Duke of Powis. He died at St Germains the 2d of June 1696. His son William was restored to the forfeited honours of Viscount Montgomery, and Earl and Marquess of Powis, and took his seat in the House of Lords in 1722. He died in 1745, and was succeeded as third Marquess of Powis by his elder son William, who died unmarried in 1748, leaving his whole estate to Henry Arthur Herbert, of Dolgûog, who had married his

niece Barbara, posthumous daughter and heiress of Lord Edward Herbert, second son of the second Marquess. Of this Henry Arthur Herbert we have already spoken. This is therefore the fourth extinct peerage once in the possession of the Herberts, the other three being the lordships of Cherbury and the earldoms of Huntingdon and Torrington.

We return now to the main line, that of the Wilton Herberts, Earls of Pembroke.

Henry, second Earl of Pembroke, elder brother of the founder of the Powis branch, was not a man of any mark, sat on the trials of the Duke of Norfolk and the Queen of Scots, was made a Knight of the Garter May 20, 1574, and President of the Council in the Marches of Wales in 1586. He died at Wilton, January 19, 1601. He had been divorced from Catherine Grey in Queen Mary's reign, and then married first Catherine, daughter of George, Earl of Shrewsbury, and, after her death without issue, Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Sidney—celebrated in Ben Jonson's well-known inscription to "Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother"—a lady of high character and great learning. By her Lord Pembroke left two sons, who became in succession Earls of Pembroke—William and Philip. William Herbert was born at Wilton in 1580, and educated at New College, Oxford. He was made a Knight of the Garter in 1603, and in the 7th of James I., Governor of Portsmouth. In the 15th of that reign he became Chancellor of the University of Oxford and Lord Chamberlain, which latter office he exchanged for that of Lord Steward towards the close of the reign of James, that his brother might take his place. In the 5th of Charles I. he was made Warden and Chief

Justice of all the Forests South of Trent. He is one of those men whose reputation has far exceeded anything recorded of him, owing to his great social popularity, and his liberal and appreciating patronage of men of letters and science. He was himself a poet, and some of his poems were set to music by Henry Lawes,—Christian, the celebrated Countess of Devonshire, being the goddess to whom they were addressed. Clarendon has given us one of his most striking pictures in his notice of this Earl, though the contrasts of virtues and vices in it are too great to be easily harmonised without a considerable modification of the general panegyric. Having a large fortune of his own, and having married a great heiress, the Lady Mary Talbot, the Earl was enabled to hold an independent position before the public, which greatly enhanced his reputation both in Court and country. His attitude in Parliament was very reserved, and Clarendon tells us, that while he drew around him many of those discontented with the Court and the favourites, he exercised a controlling influence over them which withheld them from any violent courses. In fact, he seems to have been a man who, though disapproving of the course of the Administration, and standing apart from their measures as much as possible, was not at all disposed to risk anything by a decided course of action, such as that adopted by Bedford and other more earnest members of the Upper House. In his private capacity he indulged in such licentiousness that he impaired not only his fortune but his health and mental vigour. His marriage was an unhappy one, but on which side the chief fault lay it is not so easy to say, as we have only the statements of the Earl's

friends. His principal virtue seems to have been that of being above the greed for money and office which disgraced that age, and keeping himself clear from the disreputable malpractices at the expense of the public which were then so general. This exceptional abstinence has gained for him a far higher reputation than he seems really entitled to. He died at Baynard's Castle, April 10, 1630, and was succeeded by his brother Philip, whose fortune it has been to experience exactly the opposite fate, and to get full discredit for all his defects without the just counterbalance of his merits. He had at an early age attracted the notice of King James by his handsome face and his dexterity in field-sports (Vandyke's portrait of him as a young man bears ample testimony to the former qualification), and for a short time he was a Royal favourite. But being as entirely careless of maintaining that position as he was moderate in its enjoyment, he was soon superseded by Carre, and retired from the field with equal *nonchalance*. He remained, however, in favour at Court, and on the 4th of May 1605 was created Baron Herbert of Shurland, in the Isle of Sheppey, and Earl of Montgomery, and in 1630 succeeded his brother William as fourth Earl of Pembroke. He became Lord Chamberlain and Lord Warden of the Stannaries, but was afterwards dismissed from both offices. He was not an empty-headed man, as the Cavalier writers assert, but his education had been limited, and he was not addicted to literature, like his brother, and possibly had some contempt for it; at any rate, he seems to have incurred the dislike of the men of letters, and to have suffered in his fame in a corresponding degree. In him the

Herbert family-failing of choler was carried to excess. He was constantly getting into quarrels, and forming one of the actors in the most undignified scenes of personal altercation, extending to actual blows. He quarrelled with his wife, and even turned her out of doors, till the Earl of Bedford brought about an arrangement. He also quarrelled at times with most of his friends; but he never retained his anger—was as willing to make apology for his violence as he was incapable of controlling it—and was, on the whole, popular, being looked upon as an honest and generous, though hot-headed, man. His plain-speaking made no distinction of persons. He sat in the Privy Council; but he openly opposed the measures of the Government, harangued them in favour of Protestantism and the liberty of the subject, and said all sorts of uncourtly truths to the King himself. He espoused the popular side in the contest with Charles, and, though not a man of much talent, proved an important and consistent adherent of the Parliament through the whole civil contest. His wife thus describes him: "He was no scholar at all to speak of, for he was not past three or four months at the University of Oxford, being taken away thence by his friends presently after his father's death, in Queen Elizabeth's time, and in the latter end of her reign, to follow the Court, as judging himself fit for that kind of life, when he was not passing fifteen or sixteen years old. Yet he was of a very quick apprehension, a sharp understanding, very crafty withal, and of a discerning spirit, but extremely choleric by nature, which was increased the more by the office of Chamberlain to the King, which he held many years. He

was never out of England but some two months, when he went into France with other lords, in the year 1625, to attend Queen Mary at her first coming over into England to be married to King Charles her husband. He was one of the greatest noblemen of his time in all respects, and was throughout the reign very well beloved." He adhered to the Independent party, and after the King's execution sat in the Council of State, and entered the House of Commons, but died January 23, 1650. According to Lord Orford, some of his books were used by him as commonplace books, and his copies of 'Stonehenge' and 'The Life of Sir Thomas More' are covered with notes in his handwriting, "memorandums, jokes, witticisms, and abuse of several persons, particularly on Cromwell and his daughters, and on Inigo Jones, whom he calls 'Iniquity Jones.'" He was appointed by the Parliament Chancellor of the University of Oxford,—an appointment intended, probably, merely to overawe the disaffected party in that place, though, if his wife's account be true, he may not have been the worst man for the place in other respects. This singular man, who acted on most of the commissions for treating with the King, and was one of those in attendance on him during his restraint at Holmby House, was twice married,—first to Susan, daughter of Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, by whom he had seven sons and three daughters; and, secondly, to Anne, sole daughter and heiress of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, and widow of Richard, Earl of Dorset. This lady is the clever virago who "had known and admired Queen Elizabeth, had refused what she deemed an iniquitous award of King James, rebuilt

her dismantled castles in defiance of Cromwell, and repelled with disdain the interposition of a profligate Minister under Charles II." By her, who survived him, the Earl had no children; and her quarrels with him arose from a desire on his part, which she resisted, to make matches between his own children by his former marriage and *her* children by the Earl of Dorset. His eldest surviving son, Philip, succeeded as fifth Earl of Pembroke and second Earl of Montgomery. He was also a firm adherent of the Parliament in the Civil Wars, and sat in the House of Commons after the King's death, and in the Council of State of the Commonwealth. He married first the daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Naunton, Secretary of State to James I., by whom he had a son, William; and, secondly, Catherine, daughter of Sir William Villiers of Brooksby, by whom he had two sons, Philip and Thomas. He died December 11, 1669, and was succeeded as Earl by his three sons one after the other—William, sixth Earl of Pembroke and third of Montgomery (who died unmarried July 8, 1674); Philip, seventh Earl of Pembroke and fourth of Montgomery, who married a sister of the Duchess of Portsmouth, and had by her a daughter, married to the second and last Lord Jeffreys, son of the well-known judge, but died without male issue August 29, 1683; and Thomas, eighth Earl of Pembroke and fifth of Montgomery, a man of greater mark than his brothers, and one of the leaders of the Tory Protestant party during the crisis of the Revolution. He raised the train-bands of Wiltshire against the Duke of Monmouth, and crushed the rising at Frome in his favour; but not going along with King James in his subsequent

measures, he was dismissed from the Lord-Lieutenancy of Wiltshire. This lost the King Pembroke's support in the crisis of the Revolution. Still he voted for the regency scheme with the other Tories; but, on its rejection, acquiesced in William's accession, and carried the pointed sword at the coronation. In 1689 he was sent as Ambassador-Extraordinary to the States-General, and sworn of the Privy Council in October of that year. He was afterwards in that reign colonel of a regiment of marines, First Commissioner of the Admiralty (in place of his kinsman Torrington), and, March 11, 1691, Lord Privy Seal. He was First Plenipotentiary at the treaty of Ryswick in 1697; on May 14, 1700, was elected a Knight of the Garter, and became Lord President of the Council in 1699 (succeeding Leeds); was seven times a Lord-Justice during the King's absences; and in the last year of the reign was constituted Lord High Admiral of England and Ireland. He supported the Triennial Bill, and voted for the first stage of the Bill of Attainder against Sir John Fenwick, as a means of forcing him to further confessions; but resisted it in its next stage, and joined in the opposition of the Peers to the Resumption Bill. On the accession of Queen Anne he resigned the office of Lord Admiral in favour of Prince George of Denmark, and refused a considerable pension offered him by the Queen in recompense. She appointed him Lord-Lieutenant of Wilts, Monmouth, and South Wales, and on July 4, 1702, he again became President of the Council, in the sixth year of the reign was named one of the Commissioners for the union with Scotland, and in 1707 became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. On November

25, 1708, he was again made Lord High Admiral, and resigned in November of the following year, when the office was put into commission. On the death of the Queen he was appointed one of the Lords Justices before the arrival of George I., carried the pointed sword at the coronation, was confirmed in all his local honours, and died January 22, 1733. Although a Tory, he protected John Locke during the evil days of the Whigs, and in gratitude the philosopher immortalised his name by dedicating to him 'The Essay on the Human Understanding.' He made a fine collection of marbles at Wilton House, and had also a curious collection of coins and medals, and other antiquities. He was President of the Royal Society, and a man of high personal character. He married Margaret, the daughter and heiress of the well-known Sir Robert Sawyer (Attorney-General to Charles II.) of High-Clere, in Hampshire. His fifth son by her, William Herbert, became a Major-General; and, dying in 1757, left three sons, the eldest of whom, Henry, was created, on October 17, 1780, Baron Porchester of High-Clere, and, on the 3d of July 1793, Earl of the town and county of Carnarvon. As Colonel Herbert, and member for Wilton, he was present in the House of Commons during the Gordon riots, and when Lord George Gordon took his seat with a blue cockade, the House being meanwhile besieged by the mob, Colonel Herbert declared with great spirit that he could not sit and vote in that House whilst he saw a noble lord in it with the ensign of riot in his hat, and threatened if he would not take it out he would walk across the House and do so for him. Thereupon Lord George put the cockade in his pocket. The

great-grandson of this spirited gentleman, Henry Howard Molyneux Herbert, is the present and fourth Earl of Carnarvon, an accomplished and rising member of the Conservative party. Henry, ninth Earl of Pembroke and sixth Earl of Montgomery, elder brother of the ancestor of the Earls of Carnarvon, was appointed a Lord of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales on the accession of George I., and was reappointed by the Prince on his accession as George II. He was afterwards Groom of the Stole to the latter King, rose in the army to the rank of Lieutenant-General, and acted several times as one of the Lords Justices during the Royal absences from England. He was particularly noted for his taste for the fine arts, especially architecture. Not only Wilton, but several seats of his friends, had the benefit of his favourite pursuit, and he took great pleasure in watching over the construction of Westminster Bridge. He died very suddenly January 9, 1751, and was succeeded by his son, Henry tenth Earl of Pembroke and seventh Earl of Montgomery, who was in his minority. He returned from his travels in 1755, and held some appointments in the army. Next year he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Wiltshire, and a Lord of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George III., and continued in this office for some time after the commencement of the new reign. He became a General in the army, and was High Steward of Salisbury. He died January 26, 1794, and was succeeded as eleventh Earl of Pembroke and eighth of Montgomery by his only son George Augustus, who also became a Lieutenant-General in the army; and went in May 1807 on a special embassy to

Vienna. He was also Governor of Guernsey, High Steward of Salisbury, and a Knight of the Garter, besides the almost hereditary office of Lord-Lieutenant of Wiltshire. He was appointed Vice-Chamberlain of the Household in 1784 under Pitt's Ministry, and retained this office till 1794. While Lord Herbert he had served in the war of the French Revolution, being in command of the English force attached to the Prussian army on the French frontier. He greatly improved the rent-roll of his estates, which at his accession to the title were estimated at £35,000 a-year, but at his death, October 26, 1827, having laid out £200,000 on them, they were estimated at nearly treble that sum. He was twice married, first to a daughter of Topham Beauclerk, and, secondly, to Catherine, daughter of Count Woronzow, Russian Ambassador in this country. By the first marriage he had one son, Robert Henry, who succeeded as twelfth Earl of Pembroke and ninth Earl of Montgomery, and to whom he left a legacy of £10,000. The bulk of his very large disposable property Earl George bequeathed to his son Sidney by his second marriage, well known as the late Right Hon. Sidney Herbert, and created Lord Herbert of Lea the 15th of January 1861. The twelfth Earl, who resided at Paris, leaving Wilton to the occupation of his brother, died April 25, 1862, and was succeeded by his nephew, George Robert Charles, thirteenth and present Earl of Pembroke and tenth Earl of Montgomery, son of Sidney, Lord Herbert of Lea (who died 2d August 1861), a lad of fourteen years of age, who, if he reaches man's estate, will in 1871 find himself one of the very greatest of English nobles.

It is useless to give any general character of the Herberts, for they have been rather a clan than a family, and have presented almost every variety of individual type. In most of them who have risen to personal greatness the trace of the old Celtic blood may be perceived, the courage and the choler, the tendency towards luxury and the fondness for art which mark that branch of the human family; but there have been men among them, like Lord Herbert of Lea, of a very much higher type. Though good soldiers and gallant sailors, they have, on the whole, done less for England than most of her older houses, and their great position is due more to the singular hold they once possessed over the affections of Welshmen, and an hereditary keenness of intellect, than to their great achievements.

The Somersets.

THE Duke of Beaufort, the head of this splendid clan, whose name has for four centuries been synonymous with aristocracy, is the lineal representative of a branch of the Plantagenets, a branch which is in England termed "base-born," but in many countries would be only a *branche cadette.* He is the lineal male descendant of John, Duke of Lancaster — Shakespeare's "old John of Gaunt, time-honoured Lancaster"—and the heir of a house which, though the great Peer who is the stem of all English royalty only subsequently married its ancestress, was once legitimatised in the fullest manner by Act of Parliament, and only lost that position through a second taint of illegitimacy.

In other words, the Somersets are the descendants of Charles Somerset, illegitimate son of Henry Beaufort — so called from a castle in Anjou — Duke of Somerset, grandson of John Beaufort, eldest illegitimate son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by Catherine Swinford. Henry Beaufort was first cousin to Margaret Beaufort, mother of King Henry VII., so that Charles Somerset and the first of the Tudor Princes stood in the relation of second cousins. The

Beauforts had been legitimatised in the 15th of Richard II., and it would seem that this legitimatisation extended originally to the succession to the Crown, for the words in the Patent Roll, "exceptâ dignitate regali," are an interlineation, probably inserted at the time that Henry IV. "exemplified" the grant in 1407, in which exemplification these words appear. The Beauforts had devoted their fortunes and lives to the Lancastrian cause, one Duke having fallen in battle and two on the scaffold, independently of other members of the family, during the course of the Wars of the Roses. Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, was taken prisoner at the battle of Hexham, and executed April 3, 1463, leaving issue by Joan Hill or "de la Montaign" an only natural son, CHARLES, who assumed the surname of SOMERSET. The Tudor dynasty took good care of the fortunes of their "base-born" cousin. In 1485 he was made a Privy Councillor, and was a Knight in the 2d of Henry VII., in which year he was made Constable of Helmsley Castle, in Yorkshire, and in the next year Admiral of the Fleet. In the 6th year of the reign he was sent with the Order of the Garter to the Emperor Maximilian. He was also himself made a Knight of the Garter and a Banneret, and Captain of the Guard July 17, 1496. In the 17th of Henry VII. he was sent Ambassador to the Emperor, and concluded two treaties, June 19 and June 20, 1502. He next made a great match with Elizabeth Herbert, daughter and heiress of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Huntingdon, thus obtaining Ragland Castle and the largest part of the older Herbert inheritance. On this marriage he was created by patent of November 26, 1506, Baron Her-

bert of Ragland, Chepstow, and Gower, and became as such Governor of Payne and Montgomery Castles. He was Lord Chamberlain to Henry VII., and continued in the same office by Henry VIII., who made him also one of his Privy Council. In 1513 he accompanied the latter King to France, and was present at the taking of Terouenne and Tournay, was created Lord Chamberlain for life, and on the 1st of February, 1514, Earl of Worcester. He conducted the Princess Mary to France on her marriage with King Louis, was employed in negotiating the peace with that country, and in 1521 a peace between France and the Emperor Charles V. He also sat on the trial of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. He died April 15, 1526. He was twice married after the death of his first wife, and was succeeded by Henry, his son by his first marriage, and second Earl of Worcester. The second Earl played no conspicuous part in history, and died November 26, 1549. The inquisition taken in Gloucestershire after his death shows that he died seised of the manors of Wolveston *alias* Woollaston, and grange of Woollaston, Modesgate, *alias* Maiolt, Brockwere, Alveston, Halleshall, and Hewelsfield, and 82 messuages, 3 mills, 1000 acres of ploughed land, 70 of meadow, 1000 of pasture, 600 of wood, 500 of heath and turf, and £20, 8s. rent in Brockwere, Wolveston, Almington, Alveston, Hewelsfield, and Modesgate, with the fisheries in the Wye called Plomwere, Ashwere, Ithelswere, and Walwere, the rectory of Walwere, and advowsons and vicarage of the same, the manor of Tiddenham, and divers messuages, lands, and tenements in Strote, Widden, Bisten, Bottesley, and Sudbury, all in the county of Gloucester. He was succeeded by his eldest

son, William, third Earl of Worcester, and a Knight of the Garter. His life was as uneventful as his father's, the principal thing recorded of him being that he went to France in 1573 as the representative of Elizabeth at the christening of a daughter of Charles IX. He died February 21, 1589, and by an inquisition taken at Cardiff he died possessed in the county of Glamorgan of the lordships and manor of Gower, Kilvey, and castle of the borough of Swansea, parcel of the manor of Gower, and demesne lands of the castle of Oystermouth, with the appurtenances in Clyn Forest, the manors of Wringston, Michelston, and the rectory of the church, half the manor of West Orchard, and the manor of Lancarman. He was succeeded by his only son, Edward, fourth Earl of Worcester, who was sent Ambassador to James VI. of Scotland in 1591, to congratulate him on his marriage and safe return from Denmark; in the 43d of Elizabeth was made Master of the Horse, and by James I. continued in the office, that king constituting him also one of the Commissioners for the Earl Marshalship. In the 13th James I. he exchanged the office of Master of the Horse for that of Lord Privy Seal, and two years afterwards had a new grant of that office, with a fee of £1500 per annum for life. He was also made a Knight of the Garter. He died at his house in the Strand March 3, 1628. Sir Robert Naunton, of the Privy Council to Queen Elizabeth, and Secretary of State under James I., gives the following account of the Earl:—"My Lord of Worcester I have here put last, but not least, in the Queen's [Elizabeth's] favour. He was of the ancient and noble blood of the Beauforts, and of her grandfather's line by the mother, which the Queen could never forget,

especially when there was a concurrence of old blood with fidelity, a mixture which ever sorted with the Queen's nature. And though there might appear something in this house which might avert her grace, I mean contrariety or suspicion in religion, yet the Queen ever respected this house, principally this noble lord. In his youth (part thereof he spent before he came to reside at Court) he was a very fine gentleman, and the best horseman and tilter of the times. And when years had abated these exercises of honour, he grew then to be a faithful and profound counsellor. And as I have placed him last, so was he the last liver of all the servants of her favour." This leaning towards the Roman Catholic faith no doubt was the cause why this family did not assume during the Tudor period the prominence their great possessions might have seemed to command. In the next two generations the heads of the house openly professed Romanist opinions. The fourth Earl married a daughter of Francis, Earl of Huntingdon, and had by her eight sons and seven daughters. The eldest son, William, Lord Herbert, died unmarried during his father's lifetime. Thomas, the third son, was one of those sent to Scotland to announce the death of Queen Elizabeth, was made a Knight of the Bath by James, and on December 8, 1626, created Viscount Somerset of Cashel, in Tipperary (an Irish peerage), but leaving only a daughter, who died unmarried, his title became extinct. One of the Earl of Worcester's daughters, Blanche, married Thomas, heir of Lord Arundell, of Wardour, and became celebrated in the Civil War for her defence of Wardour Castle against the Parliamentary forces. Henry, the second but eldest surviving

son, succeeded as fifth Earl of Worcester. He was an avowed Roman Catholic, and a most determined Cavalier. His exertions in behalf of King Charles were enormous, and his sacrifices corresponded. Clarendon somewhat invidiously observes that he "was generally reputed the greatest moneyed man of the kingdom, and probably might not think it an unthrifty thing rather to disburse it for the King, who might be able to repay it, than to have it taken from him by the other party, which would be hardly questionable if they prevailed." Somerset at any rate maintained his castle of Ragland for the King from 1642 to August 19, 1646, with a garrison of 800 men, without any contribution from other sources. He then surrendered on terms to Fairfax. But besides this his eldest son had raised and commanded a considerable army in South Wales and the adjoining English counties, which was an important branch of the Royal forces. The King made Ragland Castle his retreat for some time after the disastrous campaign of 1645, and there exists a volume professing to be an account of a conference on religion between Charles and Somerset during the former's stay at the castle. The Earl had been by letters-patent, dated Oxford, November 2, 1642, created Marquess of Worcester; but the Long Parliament never recognised those titles given after the outbreak of the Civil War, and by them he was still called *Earl*. After the surrender of Ragland Castle to Fairfax it was entirely dismantled by order of the Parliament, and the timber adjoining it cut down and sold, the lead on the castle alone fetching £6000, and the timber of the roofing being sent to Bristol to rebuild the houses burnt during the sieges

of that city. The family estimated their losses in these dilapidations at £100,000, besides about an equal sum advanced to the King. The income of the Somerset estate according to that year's audit was £20,000 per annum. Various grants were made by the Parliament out of it, among others one of £1680 per annum to Oliver Cromwell and his heirs in March 1648, £1000 per annum of which Cromwell at once offered towards the expenses of the war in Ireland. The Marquess himself, being committed to the formal custody of the Usher of the Black Rod, died in December 1646, and was succeeded as sixth Earl or second Marquess of Worcester by his son Edward, who had played a very conspicuous part during the first Civil War.

Lord Clarendon, who was not well disposed towards the Somersets, says that the King "committed South Wales to the charge of Lord Herbert, eldest son to the Marquess of Worcester, whom he made his Lieutenant-General, adding Monmouthshire to his commission. There were, in the opinion of many, great objections against committing that employment to that noble Lord, whose person many men loved and very few hated. First, he had no knowledge or experience in the martial profession,"—not an uncommon fault, however, in commanders on both sides in that war,—"then his religion, being of that sort of Catholics the people rendered odious by accusing it to be most Jesuited, men apprehended would not only produce a greater brand upon the King of favouring Papists and Popery than he had been yet reproached with. This gave opportunity and excuse to many persons of property and great interest in those counties (between

whom and that Lord's family there had been perpetual feuds and animosities) to lessen their zeal to the King's cause out of jealousy of the other's religion. And those contestations had been lately improved with some sharpness by the Lord Herbert's carriage towards the Lord Marquess of Hertford during the time of his residence there, when out of vanity to magnify his own power he had not showed that due regard to that of the other which he should have had. But, on the other hand, the necessity of disposing those parts, divided from the rest of the kingdom, under the command of some person of honour and interest, was very visible." Lord Herbert "was a man of more than ordinary affection and reverence to the person of the King, and one who, he was sure, would neither deceive nor betray him." This Lord Herbert is generally considered to have been created Earl of Glamorgan and Baron Beaufort of Caldecote Castle on the 1st of April 1644, and for the creation of these dignities there is now remaining in the Signet Office a bill under the royal sign-manual. Great doubt exists, however, whether any patent passed the Great Seal, but the title of Glamorgan is treated as existing in the Marquess by a patent of Charles II., and has been occasionally assumed by his descendants on coffin-plates, &c. King Charles addressed several letters to him by the title of Earl of Glamorgan, and there is a most extraordinary commission, dated the same day, April 1, 1644, and addressed to "Edward Somerset, *alias* Plantagenet, Lord Herbert, Baron Beaufort of Caldecote, Grismond, Chepstow, Ragland, and Gower, Earl of Glamorgan," giving him power to fill up certain blank patents of creation to every dig-

nity, from a marquess to a baronet, with the promise of the Princess Elizabeth in marriage to his son Plantagenet, with a portion of £300,000, and the title of Duke of Somerset to himself and his heirs male for ever. After the Restoration, in consequence of a motion made in the House of Lords to the effect that this patent was deemed "in prejudice to the Peers," the Marquess of Worcester (23d of August 1660) stated that a patent had been placed in his hands by the late King to create him Duke of Somerset, on certain conditions which had not been performed, and that he was ready to deliver it up; and accordingly, on the 3d of September following it is stated to have been given up. The commission referred to was secretly granted to Glamorgan by the King, without the knowledge of his representative in Ireland, Ormonde, or any of the Protestant members of his Council in either kingdom, and was for the purpose of concluding terms with the Catholic rebels much more favourable to them than any which Ormonde had the power or was disposed to grant, although the "cessation" concluded by the latter in the King's name in the preceding September had already created a most unfavourable impression in England, and alienated many of the Cavalier party. The commission appointed Glamorgan "generalissimo of three armies, English, Irish, and foreign, and admiral of a fleet at sea," with the most unreserved powers over all subordinate officers, and permission to address the King if any of the royal orders contravened his plans. After the Restoration, in a letter addressed to Clarendon, dated June 11, 1660, the Earl of Glamorgan (then Marquess of Worcester) explains the nature of the commission

intrusted to him by the late King:—"My Lord Chancellor," he says, "for his Majesty's better information, through your favour, and by the channel of your Lordship's understanding things rightly, give me leave to acquaint you with one chief key wherewith to open the secret passages between his late Majesty and myself in order to his service, which was no other than a real exposing of myself to any expense or difficulty rather than his just design should not take place, or, in taking effect, that his honour should suffer. An effect, you may justly say, relishing more of a passionate and blind affection to his Majesty's service than of discretion and care of myself. This made me take a resolution that he should have seemed angry with me at my return out of Ireland, until I had brought him into a posture of power to own his commands, to make good his instructions, and to reward my faithfulness and zeal therein.

"Your Lordship may well wonder, and the King too, at the amplitude of my commission. But when you have understood the height of his Majesty's design, you will soon be satisfied that nothing less could have made me capable to effect it, being that one army of ten thousand men was to have come out of Ireland through North Wales; another of a like number, at least, under my command-in-chief, to have expected my return in South Wales, which Sir Henry Gage was to have commanded as Lieutenant-General; and a third should have consisted of a matter of six thousand men, two thousand of which were to have been Liegois, commanded by Sir Francis Edmonds, two thousand Lorrainers, to have been commanded by Colonel Browne, and two thousand of such French, English,

Scotch, and Irish as could be drawn out of Flanders and Holland. And the six thousand were to have been landed, by the Prince of Orange's assistance, in the associated counties, and the Governor of Lynn, cousin-german to Major Bacon, major of my own regiment, was to have delivered the town unto them.

"The maintenance of this army of foreigners was to have come from the Pope and such Catholic princes as he should draw into it, having arranged to afford and procure £30,000 a-month, out of which the foreign army was first to be provided for, and the remainder to be divided among other armies. And for this purpose I had power to treat with the Pope and Catholic princes, with particular advantages promised to Catholics, for the quiet enjoying their religion without the penalties which the statutes in force had power to inflict upon them. And my instructions for this purpose, and my powers to treat and conclude thereupon, were signed by the King under his pocket signet, with blanks for me to put in the names of Pope or princes, to the end the King might have a starting-hole to deny the having given me such commissions, if excepted against by his own subjects, leaving me, as it were, at stake, who, for his Majesty's sake, was willing to undergo it, trusting to his word alone.

"In like manner did I not stick upon having this commission ingrossed, enrolled, or assented unto by his Council, nor indeed the seal to be put unto it in an ordinary manner, but as Mr Endymion Porter and I could perform it with rollers and no screw-press.

"One thing I beseech your Lordship to observe, that though I had power by it to erect a mint anywhere, and to dispose of his Majesty's revenues and

delinquents' estates, yet I never did either to the value of a farthing, notwithstanding my own necessities, acknowledging that the intention of those powers given me was to make use of them when the armies should be afoot, which design being broken by my commitment in Ireland, I made no use of those powers, and consequently repaying now whatever was disbursed by any for patents of honour, as now I am contented to do, it will evidently appear that nothing hath stuck to my fingers in order to benefit or self-interest, which I humbly submit to his Majesty's princely consideration, and the management of my concerns therein to your Lordship's grave judgment, *and to the care of me, which your Lordship was pleased to own, was recommended unto you by the late King*, my most gracious master, of glorious memory."

After this full and explicit statement, which has been given on the authority of the Earl of Glamorgan himself, it is unnecessary to pursue the subject of his proceedings in Ireland through the labyrinth of falsehood, duplicity, and blundering, of which they consist. Suffice it to say that the Earl's secret negotiations with the Irish Catholics in the King's name leaking out, the Lord Digby, one of the Protestant Counsellors of the Crown, accused him at the Council Board, at Dublin, of high treason, and he was imprisoned by Ormonde till the King managed to hint to the latter that the Earl acted by his orders, when Ormonde released the Earl, and intimated to him, in dignified terms, that he was at liberty to pursue his designs, of the nature of which he was himself ignorant, at his pleasure. Nor can we give any idea of the contradictory instructions and protestations given and made by the King during

this crisis. They remain side by side to establish beyond all dispute his astonishing duplicity, and the sophistical casuistry by which he persuaded himself that he was at liberty to involve himself in such a tissue of lying and treachery. Everything recoiled on himself. The arrest of the Earl stopped the treaty with the Irish rebels, and when it was renewed the disavowals of the King continually shook the confidence of the Catholics in the reality of the Earl's powers or the reliableness of his undertakings. The Queen interfered with a negotiation of her own with the Pope, more favourable still to the Catholics, some of the royal correspondence was intercepted, and some fell into the hands of the Parliament at the battle of Naseby, so that the negotiation, utterly discredited on all sides, came to an end for the time, and the Earl quitted Ireland, passing first into France, but afterwards, in a few years, returning to England. He died April 3, 1667, without having taken any further prominent part in political affairs. He was the author of a work called *'A Century of the Names and Scantlings of such Inventions as at present I can call to mind to have tried and perfected, which (my former notes being lost) I have, at the instance of a powerful friend, endeavoured now, in the year 1655, to set these down in such a way as may sufficiently instruct me to put any of them to practice.'* This was first printed in 1663, and is again (1864) announced for republication. Horace Walpole calls it an amazing piece of folly; another writer considers it to establish the Marquess as a man of the greatest mechanical genius. It is popularly said that the idea of the steam-engine was derived from one of the experiments detailed by the

Marquess. He was evidently not a man of much real ability in political affairs, but an honest, brave, Catholic enthusiast, in some points tainted with the casuistical craft of Jesuitism, but, as is so often the case with such men, with the character in all ordinary matters of an honourable Englishman. He was twice married, and was succeeded as third Marquess of Worcester by his son Henry, whose political career was not the most consistent. He was a professed Protestant, in later years of the extreme High Church or Anglo-Catholic type; but previously he seems, like other young Cavalier noblemen who had lost their lands in the Civil War, to have thought it a good way to recover them to make love to the ladies of the dominant party. Accordingly, we find Oliver Cromwell, in April 1651, thinking it necessary to warn his wife, in a letter from Edinburgh: "Beware of my Lord Herbert's resort to your house. If he do so it may occasion scandal, as if I were bargaining with him. Indeed, be wise—you know my meaning." Royalist scandal sets down Mrs Claypole, Cromwell's favourite daughter, as the great attraction to Lord Herbert in the General's family. The young Lord seems to have shaped his political opinions at this time by this friendly feeling towards Cromwell's family, for on a tiny bit of paper pasted on the back of a letter of Oliver's, of December 1652, are these words, "God bless the now Lord Protector!" and crosswise, "Marquess Worcester writt it." However, the Restoration, of course, changed all this, and we find, after a time, the Oliverian Lord Herbert of 1651 converted into a stanch advocate of the Stuart doctrines of right divine and passive obedience. On July 30, 1660, he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Gloucestershire, in

1672 Lord President of the Council in the principality of Wales, and Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Anglesey, Brecon, Cardigan, Carmarthen, Glamorgan, Radnor, Carnarvon, Denbigh, Merioneth, Montgomery, Flint, and Pembroke, Lord-Lieutenant of the county and city of Bristol, one of the Privy Council, and a Knight of the Garter. On December 2, 1682, he was raised to the title of Duke of Beaufort. His great uncle Thomas, Viscount Somerset of Cashel, had purchased of Nicholas Boteler, the last of a very old family, the manor of BADMINTON, in Gloucestershire, and Lord Somerset's daughter and heiress dying unmarried, left this estate to her cousin, the Lord Herbert, the subsequent Duke of Beaufort. The estate was a fine one, and the park a very noble one, so Ragland Castle, the old family seat, having been reduced to a ruin, the head of the Somersets preferred transferring his residence to Badminton, and in 1682 began the erection of a large house there, which thenceforth became the scene of the most magnificent festivities and lavish hospitalities, resembling rather a court in its stately magnificence than the residence of a subject. "The power of Beaufort," says Macaulay, "bears some faint resemblance to that of the great barons of the fifteenth century. He was President of Wales, and Lord-Lieutenant of four English counties. His official tours through the extensive region in which he represented the Majesty of the throne, were scarcely inferior to Royal progresses. His household at Badminton was regulated after the fashion of an earlier generation. The land to a great extent round his pleasure-grounds was in his own hands, and the labourers who attended it formed part of his family. Nine tables were every

day spread under his roof for two hundred persons. A crowd of gentlemen and pages were under the orders of his steward. A whole troop of cavalry obeyed the master of the horse. The fame of the kitchen, the cellar, the kennel, and the stables, was spread over all England. The gentry many miles round were proud of the magnificence of their great neighbour, and were at the same time charmed by his affability and good nature." But there was always, and still is, in the Somersets something of the princely mode of life befitting their origin.

James II. heaped favours upon the Duke, his somewhat ambiguous religion no doubt adding to the claims of his exuberant loyalty. He was made Lord President of Wales, and confirmed in the Lord-Lieutenancies above mentioned. At the coronation he carried the Queen's crown. He raised all his family interest against the Duke of Monmouth, and at the Revolution pursued a similar course, overpowering and making a prisoner of Lord Lovelace, who was endeavouring to join William in the west. But his efforts failed before the general national feeling, and he disbanded his forces and retired sullenly to Badminton. On the accession of William, after a short demur, to the astonishment and consternation of the Jacobites, Beaufort emerged from his retreat to take the oaths of allegiance to the new King. He also afterwards entertained him splendidly at Badminton in 1690, after William's return from his Irish campaign. He died January 21, 1699, in the seventieth year of his age. He married Mary, daughter of Arthur, the well-known Lord Capel of Charles I.'s reign, and had by her five sons and four daughters. His eldest son died

an infant, his second, Charles, Marquess of Worcester, was a man of considerable learning, but died in the lifetime of his father, in the thirty-eighth year of his age (July 13, 1698), from the effects of a leap from his coach, the horses of which were running away with him down a steep hill. He had married Rebecca, daughter of Sir Josiah Child, of Wansted, Essex, and sister to Richard Earl Tilney, and by her had three sons and three daughters. Henry, the eldest son, born April 2, 1684, succeeded his grandfather as second Duke of Beaufort in 1699. When Queen Anne visited the University of Oxford in 1702, going thence to Bath, the Duke met her not far from Cirencester, accompanied by great numbers of gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders, and conducted her to Badminton, where he splendidly entertained her and her husband. He was a strong Tory, or rather Jacobite, and would not go to Court till after the change of Ministry in 1710 which the Jacobites looked upon as the prelude to the establishment of the succession in the Chevalier. He is reported to have said to Anne on this occasion that he could now call her Queen in reality. On January 10, 1712, he was made Captain of the Band of Pensioners. He was also made Lord-Lieutenant of Hampshire and Warden of the New Forest, Lord-Lieutenant of Gloucestershire and of the cities and counties of Bristol and Gloucester, in February following; and August 4, 1713, a Knight of the Garter. He was of the Queen's Privy Council, but dying May 24, 1714, a few months before Anne, he was saved from making up his mind as to a demonstration in favour of the Chevalier, and his eldest son being then a child of seven years old, the house of Somerset also

escaped this perplexing dilemma. Henry, the third Duke of Beaufort, was in 1729 elected High Steward of Hereford. He married Frances, daughter and heiress of Sir James Scudamore, Viscount Scudamore, in Ireland, but obtained a divorce from her in 1744. His politics were considered to be those of a concealed Jacobite, but, like his father, he died in the midst of a political crisis, February 24, 1746, in the interval between the battles of Falkirk and Culloden. He was succeeded by his brother Charles Noel Somerset, fourth Duke of Beaufort, who sat for Monmouthshire in 1731, in 1735 for the town of Monmouth, and for the same place till he succeeded to the family honours. He was throughout a very high Churchman, honoured on that account with D.C.L. by the University of Oxford, and a sturdy opponent of the Court and Cabinets of George II. Like the Somersets generally, he was a social favourite. He died October 28, 1756. He married in 1740 Elizabeth, daughter of John Berkeley, Esq., of Stoke Gifford, Gloucestershire, and sister of Norborne, Lord Botetourt, whose barony she inherited. Her eldest son, Henry, succeeded as fifth Duke of Beaufort, seventh Marquess and eleventh Earl of Worcester. He distinguished himself at Oxford by his acquirements in English literature, went on his foreign travels, was appointed, January 20, 1768, Master of the Horse, which post he held till 1770, was Lord-Lieutenant of Monmouthshire, and in 1786 a Knight of the Garter. He died October 11, 1803. The writer of an obituary notice speaks of this Duke in the following terms:— "He maintained the dignity of his station rather by the noble simplicity of his manners, and by his provincial hospitality, than by attentions to exterior splendour

and display of fashion. It was not to his taste, nor did it suit with his fancy, to solicit notice by any of those attractions at which the public gaze with temporary admiration. Grosvenor Square was not disturbed by his festivities; but at Badminton and Troy House (Monmouthshire) every visitor felt the honour of his reception and was delighted with the satisfaction that accompanied it. In politics he supported a tranquil dignified independence. He never engaged in the ranks of opposition, and the support he generally gave to his Majesty's Ministers could never be justly attributed to any motives but such as were perfectly consistent with the integrity which distinguished his honourable life." He was succeeded by his eldest son, Henry Charles, sixth Duke of Beaufort, who married Lady Charlotte Leveson-Gower, daughter of the first Marquess of Stafford. His youngest brother, Fitzroy-James-Henry, was the well-known Lord Fitzroy Somerset, the General of the Crimean War, created the 20th of October 1852 Baron Raglan, whose son now enjoys that title. The sixth Duke, who died November 23, 1835, was elected in March 1788 to the House of Commons for the borough of Monmouth, in 1790 for the city of Bristol, and for the county of Gloucester from 1796 down to his accession to the Dukedom. He also succeeded his father as Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Monmouth and Brecon. In 1805, he became Knight of the Garter, and on the death of the Duke of Portland, in 1809, was brought forward unwillingly as a candidate for the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford, in opposition to Lord Grenville and Lord Eldon. After a severe contest the Duke was left at the bottom of the poll with 238 votes, Lord Grenville

polling 406, and Lord Eldon 398. In 1810 he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Gloucestershire, and in 1812 Constable of St. Briaval's Castle and Warden of the Forest of Dean. He bore the Queen's crown at the coronation of William IV. in 1831. He never took any prominent part in politics, though steadily supporting the successive Tory administrations. He was a liberal supporter of charitable and religious institutions, and much beloved in his own neighbourhoods for his genial and kindly manners, and his lavish private charities. For many years during the hunting season he resided at Heythrop, in Oxfordshire, where he kept a pack of foxhounds. Soon after the destruction of that house by fire he removed the kennel and his stud altogether into Gloucestershire. His second son, Lord Granville Charles Henry Somerset, attained to some eminence in Parliament and in the Peel administrations. Henry, the eldest son, who succeeded as seventh Duke, entered the army as an officer in the 16th Hussars, and served in the Peninsula on the staff of the Duke of Wellington. He was taken prisoner by the French under Soult, but remained captive only a few months. In 1813 he was returned to Parliament for the borough of Monmouth, for which place he sat down to the general election in 1832. From May 24, 1816, to March 15, 1819, he was a junior Lord of the Admiralty. In 1832, the first election after the Reform Act, the Marquess of Worcester was defeated at Monmouth by the present Lord Llanover, then Mr Benjamin Hall, but in January 1835 was returned for West Gloucestershire. Sir Robert Peel gave him the Garter on the accession of the Conservatives to power in 1841.

Like all his family he was courtly and courteous in his bearing in an eminent degree, and these manners were enhanced by a singularly fine and stately person. He had much the same tastes with his father, and survives on canvass as a Master of the "Royal Hunt" and the "Badminton Hunt," and in the writings of enthusiastic sportsmen. "In the palmy days of Melton, when 'the Old Club' flourished, a discussion arose as to who was the most popular sportsman in England, and it was at once unanimously conceded that the Marquess of Worcester was the man." He was pre-eminent as a "whip" in the days of stage-coaching, and when the "Four-in-Hand Club" was started, some thirty years ago, "his Grace's team of skewbalds and well-appointed drag was always considered the crack turn-out." He had also a small but well-appointed racing stud. He was a liberal patron of music and the drama, a great supporter of Her Majesty's Theatre in its days of disaster, and gave the name of his seat to a drink he had invented, now better known as claret-cup. He died November 17, 1853, and was succeeded as eighth and present Duke by his son, Henry Charles Fitzroy, chiefly known in connection with the usual family tastes and magnificence and as the Master of the Badminton Hunt.

The family have remained consistent Tories, but have exercised little personal influence in politics independently of that commanded by their great social position and the "sustained magnificence of their stately lives." There is little need to analyse a character which, with one exception, has been for four centuries perfectly consistent, and may be very briefly summed up. The Somersets are Plantagenets.

The Berkeleys.

HE Berkeleys are, perhaps, the very best representatives of the popular idea of the "barons bold." They are, according to the most probable account, the descendants of a Danish pirate, or sea-king, whichever he was, who turned tradesman in Bristol, and for generations they have been able barons, men proud and pugnacious to the last degree, guilty occasionally of most forms of evil except skulking, fighting kings, fighting barons, extending their territories by every means, and holding their own by main force, but with something of high chivalry and clearsightedness too. As nobles go, they must be accepted as belonging to the blue blood of England, for they are certainly,—and by certainty we imply proof quite outside what peerage-makers accept as evidence,—the descendants of Robert Fitz-Harding, who, in the reign of Stephen, made himself a baron by the strong hand, and they *may be* entitled to trace a still more ancient lineage. Their history is as old as that of England, and they are of the few remaining houses which resisted John and extorted Magna Charta. Who Fitz-Harding was is not quite so certain, but it is fairly established that he

was the son of one Harding who died in 1115—filled the office of Prepositor, *i.e.*, Præpositus of Bristol, and is sometimes called "Consul" and "Patricius." The name "Prepositor" seems to have been given for a considerable time to the chief magistrate or bailiff of many English towns. He was the representative of the King or other lord of the town, and, according to Madox, superintended the estates and levied the revenues. Harding is usually placed in the reign of William the Conqueror, but others place him in the reign of Edward the Confessor. In either case there is a chronological difficulty, which Seyer, who has examined the whole subject very minutely and skilfully in his 'History of Bristol' (to which we are indebted for most of our present account), can only explain by supposing that the grandfather as well as the father of Robert Fitz-Harding bore the name of Harding, and that they were in succession Prepositors of Bristol. There are several accounts of the origin of Harding of Bristol. According to one, very commonly found in chronicle-writers, and in genealogists of the Berkeleys, he was a younger son of one of the Kings of Denmark. Sweyn Estrith, the nephew of Canute, is usually selected for this purpose; but Seyer has completely exploded this idea, as well as the whole theory of the royal paternity of Harding. The next theory is that he is the same with Harding, the son of Elnoth, "Stallarius,"—the "Stallard," or Master of the Horse to Edward the Confessor and Harold, a Saxon who was killed in opposing an invasion of the West by Harold's sons, two or three years after the battle of Hastings. This is a much more tenable hypothesis than the former; but seems,

on the whole, improbable. The family still possess many deeds of purchases of lands, &c., by Robert Fitz-Harding, in none of which does he trace his pedigree back farther than Harding—which he would probably have done had he been the grandson or descendant of so distinguished a landed proprietor as Elnoth the Stallard appears from Domesday to have been. And from the same deeds it seems that Robert Fitz-Harding *himself purchased* all his estates, which points to *money*, and not *land*, as the foundation of Harding's position. On the whole, the probability seems to be that the general tradition that Harding was of Danish origin is correct, and that he sprang from some sea-rover—possibly "sea-king"—who, combining, as many of them did, the parts of pirate and merchant, settled ultimately in the latter capacity in Bristol, and who (or a descendant) by his wealth rose to the position in which we find Harding in the Conqueror's reign. Harding, who died in 1115, was succeeded by his son Robert *Fitz*-Harding, who by some (but not old) authorities is said to have also served the office of Prepositor of Bristol. He lived first in Broad Street, and afterwards removed to a great stone house which he built on the Frome. This rests on the authority of an old Latin deed in the chartulary of St Augustine, Bristol, which runs as follows:—"Robert, son of Harding, to all his liegemen and trusty and friends, greeting. Know ye that I have given and granted to my [son] Maurice the land which I had in Brist. of the barony of Ric. Foliot, which Bosso held, and the land which I had of the barony of Ricar. de Saint Quintin in Great Street [High Street,—there is still "Small" Street], and the

land which I had of the barony of Gilbert de Umfravill, to him and his heirs to have and to hold hereditarily, as they were granted to me by the lords of those lands, saving the service of the lords of the same lands. And also the land which I had in 'Bradestrete,' in which I first dwelt, and the whole establishment which I there had, and also the great stone house which I built upon Frome, I have given to the same Maurice, my son, provided that Eva, my wife, shall hold that land during her life, and after her death it revert freely and peaceably to Maurice my son and his heirs [the MS. unintelligible], together with the land in which I had a bakehouse by the wall as you go towards St James [? the town wall near Bridewell], and with the other possessions which I have given to him, as well in the town of Brist. as without."

Until 1247 the river Frome ran through Baldwin Street, so that Fitz-Harding's great stone house was in a place which was *afterwards* a part of Baldwin Street. Maurice's widow bequeathed this stone house to the Abbey of St Augustine. It probably, as Mr Seyer conjectures, looked in front on the marsh which extended to the hill of Billeswick, now the College Green, from which place the house was not five hundred paces distant, the back looking on Baldwin Street, or, as it then was, a branch of the river Frome. According to Leland, Harding and Fitz-Harding had a "fair house" also in the country, afterwards "Sneed Park" and "Sea Mills," the spot on which stood the ancient Roman town Abona. Robert Fitz-Harding married Eva, whom some accounts call the daughter of Sir Estmond and the Lady

Godiva, with the fabulous addition that one of these ladies was the sister of William the Conqueror. By Eva he had five sons and two daughters. The miserable civil wars between Stephen and Matilda kept the county of Gloucester in a continual state of turmoil and anarchy. The West of England generally stood for Matilda, as the East did, on the whole, for Stephen, and Bristol and London were the respective capitals of the two parties. The former city was held by Earl Robert of Gloucester, Matilda's half-brother, who was the castellan thereof, and the citizens warmly adhered to the Angevin party. Robert Fitz-Harding especially is said to have granted largely out of his hoards of money towards the support of that cause. In 1142 Prince Henry, then a boy of nine years old, came to Bristol, where he is said to have stayed four years; and, according to the tradition, there received his education at the house of one Matthews, a schoolmaster in Baldwin Street, or rather on the bank of the Frome. There is also a tradition, that he thus formed the acquaintance of Robert Fitz-Harding, which, considering the part taken by the latter in his service, is most probable. In the year 1140 Fitz-Harding began to build the Abbey of St Augustine. His wealth was already very great. Besides money, he had many large estates in lands. He possessed in Gloucestershire the manors of Filton and Horfield, of Almondsbury, Uley, Nibley, Siston, Thornbury, where he built the body of the church and the tower, and dwelt at Roll's Place, Beverstone, Elberton, King's Weston, which was an ancient demesne of the Crown, and which, together with Beverstone, he settled on Robert, his second son; the manor of Bray, in Devon-

shire, purchased by him of William de Braiose; the manor and advowson of Portbury, in Somerset, purchased of Richard de Moreville; the manor and advowson of Were, in the same county, purchased of Julian de Borton, and various other estates, besides what he had in Bristol and its immediate neighbourhood; among which were the manor of Byleswike, purchased from the Earl of Gloucester, whereon he built his new abbey; the manor of Lega [Abbot's Leigh], near Bristol, a member of the manor of Bedminster; the manor of Bedminster itself, which he purchased from the Earl of Gloucester; and "divers lands, tenements, and rents in Bristowe and Radeclyve." A still more important grant was soon afterwards made to him. One of the principal adherents of Stephen in Gloucestershire was Roger de Berkeley, Baron of the manor of that name, one of the greatest manors in England, having at the time of Domesday Book attached to it several subordinate manors: such as Camne, Dursley, Cowley, Uley, Nymphsfield, Wootton, Kingscot, Ouzleworth, Almondsbury, &c. There was also at Berchelai or Berkeley a market, seventeen vassals or homagers dwelling in it, who paid their tax in the rent; which rent or farm paid by Roger de Berchelai or Berkeley (the holder at the time of the survey) to the Crown was £170, which for the purchase of commodities would now be worth between £2000 and £3000. Roger, the descendant of this Roger de Berkeley, was seized by Walter of Hereford, a retainer of the Earl of Gloucester, some time between 1144 and 1147, and after being subjected to cruel indignities and tortures before his own residence in order to compel him to give up his estates,

was carried prisoner to Bristol. The Empress Matilda and her son Henry after this granted to Robert Fitz-Harding, in discharge of his disbursements in their service, one hundred pounds land out of Berkeley manor, with the manor of Bilton, and the liberty of building or strengthening a castle at Berkeley, and *he* became, according to the original grant of Henry, *his man*, that is, a baron of the realm. Afterwards the whole lordship or honour of Berkeley was taken from Roger de Berkeley and given to Robert Fitz-Harding, with the exception of the dependent manor of Dursley, which Roger was allowed to retain, and from this time he subsided into Baron of Dursley. But either Roger himself, after his release, or a son of the same name, seems to have led the new Citizen-Baron of Berkeley so unquiet a life, that it is even said that Fitz-Harding petitioned Henry on that account to take back the barony. However this may be, it is certain that after Henry and Stephen came to an agreement, an arrangement was entered into respecting the disputed barony, and a contract made "between Sir Robert Fitz-Harding, Lord and Baron of Berkeley, and Sir Roger of Berkeley, Lord and Baron of Dursley, in the house of Robert Fitz-Harding at Bristowe, and in the presence of King Stephen, and of Henry Duke of Normandy, and Earl of Anjou, and by his assent, and in the presence of many others, both clerks and laymen." By this contract it was agreed that Maurice, eldest son and heir of Robert Fitz-Harding, should marry Alice, daughter of Roger de Berkeley, receiving with her the town of Slimebrigge, and that Robert, son and heir of Roger de Berkeley, should marry Helena, daughter of Robert

Fitz-Harding. And it was mutually agreed that Alice should have £20 a-year in land of the fee of Berkeley for her dower, and Helena was to have the manor of Siston assigned to her in dower. Whereupon all right in the barony of Berkeley was voluntarily released by the Lord Dursley. It is doubtful whether the Castle of Berkeley was first built by Robert Fitz-Harding or only repaired and restored by him—probably the latter. The agreement and marriage-contract between the rival families must have been concluded at the very end of 1153 or the very beginning of 1154. In 1168 Robert Fitz-Harding entertained at Bristol Dermott MacMurrogh, King of Leinster, with sixty in his company, when he came over to solicit succours from Henry II. He died in 1170, his wife Eva, who survived him till 1173, founding a religious house called the *Magdalens*, "by Bristol," afterwards the King David Inn on St Michael's Hill. Their second surviving son, Robert, became Baron of Were, in Somerset. His possessions, swollen by marriages, &c., passed through successive heiresses into various families, and ultimately in Henry VIII.'s reign vested in the Percevals, afterwards Earls of Egmont.

Maurice, eldest surviving son and successor of Robert Fitz-Harding as second Baron of Berkeley (by tenure) of that family, assumed the name of "De Berkeley," probably on his marriage with Alice de Berkeley. He removed from Bristol to Berkeley Castle, which he fortified, and paid in 1189 1000 marks fine to the King for confirmation of his title to Berkeley and Berkeley "Hernesse" (or lordship). By his wife Alice he had six sons. He was succeeded as

third Baron (by tenure) by his eldest son, Robert, who in 1191 paid the King £1000 for livery of his inheritance. Again in 1199 he paid 60 marks for a confirmation thereof, and for a charter of fairs in his manor of Berkeley. He was Constable of the Castle of Bristol; joined the Barons against King John, but made his peace with the King in 15th John. Two years afterwards he was again in arms with the Barons, and was one of those who invited Prince Lewis of France into England and swore allegiance to him. He was excommunicated by the Pope, and his castle and lands seized, and the profits thereof appropriated to the maintenance of the castle of Bristol. The next year, however, he obtained a safe-conduct to come to the King, who was at Berkeley Castle, made his submission, and obtained a grant of his manor of Carne, in Dorsetshire, for the support of his wife. On the accession of Henry III. Robert de Berkeley for a fine of £966, 13s. 4d. made his peace, and was restored to all his lands except the castle and town of Berkeley. He was a great benefactor of the Church, and died in 1219 without issue, being succeeded by his brother Thomas, who in 1223 obtained the restoration of the castle and town of Berkeley. He also was a benefactor of the Church, and dying in 1243, was succeeded as fifth Baron by his eldest son, Maurice, who paid £1000 for his relief, and, doing homage, had livery of his inheritance.

"In this lord's time the rent of those rich lands—the lands on which the best double-Gloucester cheese is now made—was but sixpence per acre. He was a great agriculturist, and laid out and beautified the gardens around the castle; he also erected a deer-

park, and turned the course of the little river or brook, then called the Doreste, which ran into the vale from the Cotswold Hills, in the direction of Ribley, and made various ponds for fish, though none of these are now in existence. He is reported to have discovered the fertilising properties of marl, and used it as manure, for which, at least," says his descendant, Mr Grantley Berkeley, "his memory deserves to be cherished by all succeeding generations of farmers." He had accompanied his father in the wars in France, and in the 41st Henry III. was in Prince Edward's expedition against the Welsh, and he served against Llewellyn in the three following years. In the 45th Henry III. he obtained a grant of 40 marks yearly pension out of the Exchequer until the King should better provide for him. In the 46th Henry III. he obtained a charter for free warren in his lordship of Wendon, in Essex (part of the marriage-portion of Isabel his wife), with the right to hold a weekly market and yearly fair there. This Isabel was the daughter of Maurice de Creoun, a great baron of Lincolnshire. He was by this marriage connected with the royal family, for his wife's mother, Isabel, was sister to William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and half-sister to King Henry. Nevertheless Maurice de Berkeley joined the Barons against the King, and all his lands were seized by the latter. In the 48th Henry III. the King, having a respect to "his beloved niece," as he calls Berkeley's wife, assigned to her two manors for her maintenance, and in 55th Henry III. Maurice de Berkeley himself obtained a royal pardon. He died April 4, 1281, leaving his eldest son and heir, Thomas, thirty years

old. This Thomas, sixth Baron Berkeley by tenure and first by writ of summons (June 24, 1295), was almost constantly engaged in the Welsh, Scotch, and French wars. He was present at the third convention held at Norham in 1291 to determine the conflicting claims to the succession of Scotland. Four years afterwards he was one of those sent to make a truce with the King of France, and the next year was made Constable of England. He was at the battle of Falkirk in 1298, and in the same year, in consideration of his services, he had a pardon of a fine of 500 marks inflicted on him for trespasses committed by him in the chase near Bristol. He had previously had licence to hunt the fox, hare, badger, and wild cat with his own dogs in the King's forests of Mendip and chase of Kingswood. He was also, subsequently to his Scotch services, pardoned a "debt" of £65 which he "owed the King." He was one of the Barons who in 1301 signed the famous letter to the Pope, and in 35th Edward I. was sent ambassador, along with the Bishop of Worcester, and accompanied by his two sons, to the Court of Rome respecting affairs in France. He had been constantly employed during Edward I.'s reign in expeditions to Scotland. In the next reign he was similarly employed, and was at the battle of Bannockburn, in which he was made prisoner, and paid a large sum for his release. He continued to have yearly summons to the Scotch wars, and in one of them, as Justiciary of West Wales, and possessor of lands there, he is required to furnish 1000 foot-soldiers. He afterwards, in the disputes between the King and the Barons, adhered to Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, who was in arms

against the favourites; but died during the struggle, July 23, 1321.

Thomas Lord Berkeley and his son Maurice had violent disputes with the burgesses of Bristol, originating in disputed rights over Redcliff. This was a subordinate manor dependent on the manor of Bedminster, of which latter manor Robert Earl of Gloucester granted to the Knights Templars that part which was afterwards the parish of Temple, and which then became a separate manor, called Temple-fee; the remainder, still called Redcliff, partly within the bounds of the vill and partly without, he sold to Robert Fitz-Harding. Both Fitz-Harding and his son Maurice granted charters to their "Men of Redcliff," giving them similar privileges to those enjoyed by the citizens of Bristol, and the manor seems to have been considered as under their lordship, until in 1239 the city of Bristol obtained a grant from the Abbot of St Augustine's of the adjoining marsh, now the site of Queen's Square, and the course of the Frome having been diverted into a new channel, and a stone bridge built over the Avon, a partial incorporation of Bristol and Redcliff took place about the year 1248. "The burgesses of Redcliff became burgesses of Bristol, and were tallaged with them, and the place was considered to be within the rule of Bristol and a suburb of it; the mayor and burgesses of Bristol held court also in Redcliff Street, and had a prison there; and they prevented, or endeavoured to prevent, any market being holden on that side of the river, and used all the means in their power to abolish the remaining distinctions between the inhabitants of the two sides." Still the lords of Berkeley main-

tained a co-ordinate jurisdiction in Redcliff, held court, civil and criminal, in Redcliff Street, and had a prison and a pillory there, and the King's Justices recognised their feudal jurisdiction. The burgesses of Bristol, however, denied the right, and there were great disputes and counter-petitions respecting the exercise of the same by the Berkeleys, until in 1303 and 1304 a kind of civil war ensued between the two sides of the river, in which each party harassed the other with armed forces, and sometimes crossed the river and invaded each other's possessions. Thomas Lord Berkeley and his son Maurice were, at the commencement of this warfare, with the King in Scotland, but they returned in 1304. Redcliff had been granted by Lord Thomas to Maurice on his marriage, and the latter—being then twenty-four years of age—addressed a petition to the King, setting forth his alleged wrongs from the city of Bristol while he was under the King's protection in the wars of Scotland, and particularly that "Thomas de la Grove, of Bristol, and twenty-three others, and many other malefactors and disturbers of the King's peace, called together by the ringing of the common bell of Bristol, in hostile manner came to his manor of Bedminster, assaulted, and entered into, and the doors and gates of the house brake, and his goods to the value of 500 marks did take and carry away, and violently rescued one Robert of Cornwall, attached by his, Maurice's, bailies for the death of Joseph of Winchelsea," &c. &c. But this was followed by counter-petitions from the burgesses of Bristol, setting forth a long list of offences against them, on the part of the Berkeleys and their retainers; that they had with great multitudes of horse and foot

enforced the burgesses to do suit to their Court of Redcliff Street, and had beaten those that refused, and drawing them out of their houses, cast them into a pit, and had so cast and trodden under their feet such wives and maidens as came to help their husbands and mistresses, that many of them were wounded and died, with many other deeds of violence to individuals; and that the Berkeley retainers had entered upon certain ships being in their water of St Katherine's Pill, within the bounds of the town, expecting a fair wind, and cut their ropes, anchors, and sails, under colour of distresses, as though the dominion of that water belonged to them, and not to the mayor and burgesses of Bristol, nor to the King. Adam, the cheesemonger, also a burgess of Bristol, made his separate plaint against Maurice de Berkeley, William Parker, clerk, and others, for assaulting him in his house in Bristol, wounding and dragging him out of it, and casting him into a pit, and in a petition of William Randolph, late mayor of Bristol, the said Adam, the cheeseman, is said to have had his legs broken in such frightful manner that the marrow came out of his shin-bones; and in the same year (1305) the mayor and burgesses of Bristol petitioned Parliament, setting forth their grievances against the Berkeleys, and how William Randolph was by their procurement beaten and shamefully wounded at Dundrey fair, &c. The King's answer in Parliament was the appointment of two good men of sound understanding, along with the Constable of Bristol Castle, to examine into the disputes, and on their judgment the manor of Bedminster, with Redcliff Street and the hundred, were seized into the King's hands, and were not restored until the 1st

Edward III. Thomas and Maurice de Berkeley were also indicted before the Justices of the county of Gloucester, and fined 1000 marks for their acts of violence; but on the 11th of July in the year following they had this fine pardoned them on undertaking to serve at their own charges against Robert le Bruce and his accomplices, the King's enemies: according to another authority the fine was 3000 marks. A singular change, however, now took place in the aspect of affairs between Bristol and the Berkeleys. The burgesses of Bristol appear to have been brought by their late struggle into a state of chronic turbulence, and having succeeded in mulcting the Berkeleys they began to quarrel among themselves, and in 1312 divided into two parties: one headed by William Randolph, the former mayor and opponent of the Berkeleys, who with thirteen other leading official and ex-official citizens of Bristol had got all the power into their own hands, and were supported by a considerable party, backed by the power of the Constable of the castle; and the other party consisting of a great majority of the commonalty and many citizens of wealth and position. The immediate cause of the outbreak which ensued seems to have been the imposing by the Fourteen of certain tolls in the market and a custom called a *cockett* to be levied on the shipping for the King's use. An open act of violence occurred on the 2d of February 1312, and soon after, July 7, the King took the franchises of the city into his own hands, and on September 30 appointed as Custos or temporary dictator the Constable of the castle, Bartolomew de Baddlesmere,—a baron of great power and property, especially in Kent, but a man of brutal character, at whose door

the catastrophe that followed is generally laid. He was refused admission into the town, and prevented from exercising any authority there, by the burgesses and a newly-elected mayor; and they persisted in keeping him out until, in May 1313, the King ordered the Sheriff of Gloucestershire no longer to make any return of writs to the mayor and bailiffs of Bristol, and on various petitions and counter-petitions, appointed Thomas de Berkeley, the old opponent of the town, and four others, to settle the privileges of the town and compose matters. They met in the Guildhall, but the party of the commonalty objected to them as consisting partly of foreigners, and refusing to abide by their judgment, left the hall and harangued the mob outside; the common town bell was rung, the Guildhall was burst open, and the opposite party assailed with fists and sticks. Nearly twenty men were killed on the spot, and others broke their legs in escaping from the windows or leads. The judges themselves escaped with great difficulty. About eighty persons were indicted for this riot before the King's Justices at Gloucester, but they refused to appear, and remained in Bristol, which rose in actual revolt. Randolph and his party were driven out, his goods and property seized, and Richard de Langeton and others of the King's officers who ventured thither were thrown into prison. The insurgents built a wall and forts between the town and castle, and discharged missiles thence against the castle, and for more than two years they withstood all the menaces and armed attempts of the Crown, being headed by one John le Taverner as mayor. The Sheriffs of Gloucestershire, Somerset, and Wilts were ordered by

the King to raise forces to reduce Bristol, and they collected upwards of 20,000 men, commanded by the Earl of Gloucester, in the spring of 1314. But the citizens, knowing the King wanted the men for his war in Scotland, resisted so stoutly that the Earl was compelled to withdraw without effecting his purpose, and to reinforce the King for his Bannockburn campaign. At last, after a vain attempt by Aylmer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, to persuade the citizens to submit, a new attempt was made to enforce the royal authority; Maurice de Berkeley was employed to cut off all communications by sea, and many other barons and knights and the Constable of the castle carried on the siege by land. The citizens resisted for some little time, but the walls and houses being shattered by the engines, they at last surrendered at discretion, and the ringleaders were either imprisoned there or sent to the Tower of London. This was in the summer or autumn of 1316, and the King took the town into his own hands and kept it for some months, appointing Maurice de Berkeley as Custos of the town and castle. He is said by his family chroniclers to have exercised this dictatorial power over his old enemies with great moderation, but the subsequent feeling of the burgesses towards him throws some doubt on this. Thus ended what was called *The Great Insurrection.* The Berkeleys came out of it at the top, as they usually did out of most quarrels, being strong-handed people, and persevering, with an eye to perceive where ultimate power lay.

Thomas Lord Berkeley is described as a "very wise and provident person," but he seems to have been chiefly remarkable for his magnificence of living, keep-

ing two hundred attendants in his family,—knights, esquires, yeomen, grooms, and pages,—besides husbandmen. He was summoned to the field twenty-eight several times. He was succeeded by his son Maurice, who had been called to Parliament during his father's life as Lord Berkeley of Berkeley Castle. He was a man much given to military enterprises, and we have already related his quarrel with the citizens of Bristol. In 1321, along with his father and his sons, he rose against the Despencers in the Earls of Lancaster and Hereford's enterprise, and laid waste the estates of the favourites, carrying off from them immense spoils. But early in 1322 the King regained the ascendant, recalled the Despencers, defeated Lancaster at the battle of Boroughbridge, March 16, and Maurice de Berkeley having neglected to obey his summons to join him against the Barons, the King retook Gloucester, seized all the Berkeley estates and castles, and committed Maurice to Wallingford Castle, where, after an ineffectual attempt to escape, he died a prisoner, May 31, 1326. The mayor and citizens of Bristol, who had refused to join in Lancaster's rising, took advantage of this downfall of their old enemy, and seized and committed to the common jails all who were under the least suspicion of being friends to the Berkeleys, and so ill-treated them that redress was sought and obtained from the King two years afterwards, the prisoners released, and the mayor reprimanded. Lord Maurice left three sons who were laymen, and two who were clerks. His eldest son, Thomas, succeeded him. From his second, Maurice, descended the Berkeleys of Stoke-Giffard, the Lords Bottetourt, the Viscounts Fitzhardinge in Ireland, the

Lords Berkeley of Stratton, and the present Lord Portman; and from the third, John, the Berkeleys of Shropshire.

Lord Thomas, on the defeat of Lancaster's rising, had been committed to the Tower of London, whence he escaped, but was retaken, and was sent to Berkhampstead Castle, and afterwards to Pevensey Castle. But in September 1326, Queen Isabel and Prince Edward landing in England, and their party gaining the ascendant, Lord Berkeley was released from Pevensey, October 16, by an order sent by the Queen, and joined her at Oxford. Thence he marched with her to Gloucester, and thence to Berkeley, Hugh le Despencer the younger, who had obtained the castle from the King, flying before them to Bristol, the inhabitants of which place were by this time as discontented with the Despencers as they had been with the Berkeleys. On the triumph of the Queen and Prince which followed, the King, falling into their hands, November 16, was forced to resign the Crown on the 20th of January 1327, and before April was taken out of the custody of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, and delivered by express indenture to Thomas Lord Berkeley, Sir John Maltravers, and Sir Thomas Gournay, by whom he was conveyed first to Corfe Castle, thence to Bristol Castle (the journeys being made by night), and thence, on the discovery of a plot of the citizens to deliver the King, was carried "on a dark night," April 5, to Berkeley Castle. These removals were by order of Roger Mortimer. Lord Berkeley received the King courteously at his castle, an allowance of £5 a-day being given him for his expenses. For some cause the Lord Berkeley—his chroniclers say, on account of his kind treatment of the

King—was removed by letter from the charge of his person and the castle; but whether he was cognisant of the designs against him is less clear. In answer to the charge brought against him in Parliament subsequently of being an accessory to the deed, Lord Berkeley pleaded that he was absent from home at that time, being at Bradley, and so sick as to be in danger of death, and had no memory of anything that passed. However, the King being murdered on the 22d of September, Lord Berkeley himself wrote letters on Michaelmas Eve (the 28th) from Bradley to the Queen and Prince at Nottingham, sending them by Gournay, to inform them of what had occurred, and received orders in return through the same messenger to conceal the King's death till All Saints following. Whether really guilty or not of a knowledge of the intended murder, Thomas Lord Berkeley was acquitted by Parliament, and we will give him the benefit of the doubt.* In the 1st year of Edward III. he had livery of his estates, and in the same year he and John Maltravers the younger were appointed principal guardians of the peace in the counties of Gloucester, Wilts, Oxford, Berks, Hants, Somerset, Dorset, and Hereford. He was very active in the wars with Scotland, was at Crecy, the siege of

* "The room shown in the present time as King Edward's," says Mr Grantley Berkeley, "ornamented with a bust of Charles II., that is, or was, exhibited as a representation of the murdered King, is not the one in which the deed was committed. It was simply the guard-room to the entrance of the dungeon-keep. The one wherein the King was confined is the dungeon-chamber, immediately over the dungeon itself, and directly above the gloomy hole whence issued the effluvium of a dead horse, designedly put there in the hope of creating putrid fever, and rendering a more violent death unnecessary. The dungeon-chamber overlooked by the surrounding keep, and shut in by the massive walls of that entire wing of the castle, was of all places the one to be selected for such a purpose."

Calais (to which he brought 6 knights, 32 esquires, 30 archers on horseback, and 200 archers on foot, of his own retinue), and at Poictiers. At the latter battle he made so many prisoners that with their ransoms he was able to rebuild the Castle of Beverstone in Gloucestershire, the lordship of which, together with that of Over, in Almondsbury, he had purchased in the fifth year of this reign. He also obtained confirmation of all Berkeley and Berkeley "Hernesse,"—a market there and liberty of coinage,—and also of the manor of Bedminster, and the return of writs in all the hundred of Berkeley. He was appointed Warden of the Forests South of Trent, and in 1342 Warden of the Marches towards Scotland, where he undertook to stay in person with a banneret, 6 knights, 23 esquires, and 20 archers, for a quarter of a year. He had many encounters with the Douglas, being generally successful. He had in his domestic retinue no less than 12 knights who took wages, and sometimes more, each of them having two servants and a page; and 24 esquires, who had each a man and a page. He kept the demesnes of 60 to 80 manors in his hands, and had in all about 300 in family, besides bailiffs, hinds, &c. He sheared on his Beverstone estate 5775 sheep. He was also a great benefactor to the Church, and died October 27, 1361. He had been twice married, his first wife, Margaret, being a daughter of Roger de Mortimer, Earl of March, and widow of the Earl of Oxford (whose dower was £2000, and the manor of Langley Burrel, Wilts). John, his younger son by his second wife, was the ancestor of the Berkeleys of Betesham, in Hampshire, and of Beverstone, which latter manor (with Tockington, Over, Compton, Green-

field, and King's Weston) he held as having been his mother's jointure. Lord Berkeley's eldest son, Maurice (by his first marriage), succeeded as fourth Baron Berkeley by writ. He was knighted at the age of six in Scotland, and the next year (1338) married to Elizabeth, daughter of Hugh le Despencer. Four years afterwards he went a voyage to Spain, and remained abroad for five years. He accompanied the Prince of Wales to Gascony in 1356, and at the battle of Poictiers, September 19, was so severely wounded that he never recovered entirely, though he lived on to June 8, 1368, to the age of thirty-seven. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Thomas, fifth Lord Berkeley by writ. He served by sea and land in the wars in France and Spain, and in Scotland, and entertained King Richard II. at Berkeley Castle, in the tenth year of his reign. He was present at Flint Castle when Richard resigned his Crown, and testified to it in the King's presence in the Tower of London. He was afterwards, when in Parliament the King's deposition was pronounced by a Bishop, Abbot, Earl, Baron, and Knight, appointed the representative of the Barons for that solemn act. In the 4th Henry IV., he was made one of the Wardens of the Marches of Wales, with power over the sheriffs of six counties, against Owen Glendower. The next year he was appointed Admiral of the King's Fleet from the mouth of the Thames to the west and south, and sworn in Parliament of the Privy Council. In the same year, being sent to Wales to appease the tumults there, he was made Governor of the Castle of Brecknock, and when Charles VI. of France sent a fleet to assist Glendower, Lord Berkeley attacked it at Milford Haven, burnt 15 sail, and took 14, on board of

which were the Seneschal of France and eight officers of note. In the 6th and 7th of this reign he was again in the Welsh wars, and acted as engineer at the siege of Lampader-vaur, in Pembrokeshire. He was not only a great soldier, but a patron of learning. John Trevisa, the famous Vicar of Berkeley, celebrated for his learning and eloquence, translated the Old and New Testaments into English at the request of this Lord Berkeley. This great baron died July 13, 1417. He married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Warine, second Lord Lisle, by Alice, daughter and heiress of Henry, Lord Tyes, and left by her only a daughter, Elizabeth, married to Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.

An anomaly in the rules of succession now occurred. Instead of this Elizabeth succeeding to the barony and estates of Berkeley, for some reason her first cousin, James Berkeley, son of Sir James Berkeley, next brother to the last Lord, succeeded to the castle and estates of Berkeley, and on October 20, 1421, was summoned to Parliament as Baron of Berkeley; and Mr Courthope (the editor of 'Nicolas' Historic Peerage') considers that this writ of summons in fact created a new barony, and that the old one is (according to modern decisions on this point) in abeyance between the heirs-general of the three daughters of the Countess of Warwick, of whom the Sidneys are one. There are instances of the same anomaly in the cases of the baronies of Burghersh and De la Warr. The mother of the new baron was the daughter and heiress of Sir John Bluett, of Ragland. The Earl of Warwick much disquieted him in the possession of his new dignity and property, but he managed to retain his

hold of both, and was summoned to Parliament down to the time of his death. There was a lawsuit between the two parties for the estates, which lasted 192 years, but both had also resort to arms, and Berkeley Castle was besieged and defended many times, Lord Berkeley, as the weaker party, having purchased for 1000 marks the patronage of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the Protector. He strengthened himself also by a great marriage, viz., with Isabel, second daughter and ultimately coheiress of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of England, by Elizabeth, eldest sister and coheiress of Thomas FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel, descended from Thomas of Brotherton, eldest son of Edward I. by his second wife, the daughter of Philip le Hardi, King of France. This lady had the misfortune, during the violent scenes between the rival claimants for the Berkeley estates, to be seized by Margaret, Countess of Shrewsbury (daughter of Elizabeth Countess of Warwick, and second wife of *the* Talbot), and imprisoned in Gloucester Castle, where she died in 1452, her husband strangely enough thereupon marrying Joan, the daughter of the Countess of Shrewsbury, but leaving no issue by her. He espoused the Yorkist side in the War of the Roses, and sat in Edward IV.'s first Parliament in 1462. The date of his death is disputed—Collins says November 1463, Nicolas, 1462. He was succeeded by his eldest son, William, who in the thirteenth year of his age was a retainer in the household of the great Cardinal Beaufort, and in 1438 was knighted at Calais. He avenged his mother's imprisonment by the Countess of Shrewsbury in a characteristic manner. The Earl of Warwick

(husband of Elizabeth Berkeley) had seized several manors from the Berkeleys, such as Wotton-under-Edge, Nibley, and others, and kept possession of them. In March 1470, Thomas Talbot, Viscount Lisle, son of Shakespeare's "young John Talbot" who fell in battle with his father, and grandson of the Countess of Shrewsbury, the rival claimant of the Berkeley property, sent from Wotton a challenge to William Lord Berkeley, in which he desired him to fix a time and place for deciding their title by the sword. Lord Berkeley in his answer, after taunting Lord Lisle with the newness of that dignity, and declaring that his "lyvelode, as well his manor of Wotton, as his castle of Berkeley, were entailed to him by fine of record in the King's courts, by the advice of all the judges of this land in that day being," appointed the next morning for the time of their encounter, and Nibley Green, near Wotton, for the place. Here they met with their respective forces, about in all 1000 men, on March 20, and a furious engagement ensued, in which about 150 men were slain, including Lord Lisle, who was shot in the mouth with an arrow by one James Hiatte, of the forest of Dean. Lord Berkeley after his victory hastened to Wotton, where Lady Lisle miscarried with fright at his approach; he rifled the house, and carried away some of the furniture, and many deeds and evidences of Lord Lisle's own estate, which still remain in the Castle of Berkeley. Lord Berkeley was high in the favour of Edward IV., who on the 21st of April 1481 created him by patent *Viscount* Berkeley, and soon after he had a grant of 1000 marks per annum for life out of the customs of the port of Bristol. On the 28th of June

1483, two days after Richard III.'s assumption of the Crown, that King created Viscount Berkeley Earl of Nottingham (the old title of the Mowbrays), and he sat as such in Richard's first Parliament. But he afterwards fled to Brittany, to the Earl of Richmond, and on the accession of the latter to the Crown as Henry VII. in 1485 was created Earl Marshal of England, with limitation to the heirs male of his body, and a fee of £20 per annum (February 19, 1486). On the 28th of January 1489 he was further raised to the dignity of *Marquess* of Berkeley. Having no children of his own, and quarrelling with his brother Maurice (it is said for contracting large debts on the strength of the succession to the property), in 1488 he settled and assured the castle and manor of Berkeley to his own use in tail general, with remainder to King Henry VII. in tail *male*, remainder to his right heirs. He died February 14, 1492, when the Viscounty, Earldom, and Marquessate became extinct; but the dignity of Baron of Berkeley (the creation of 1421) should have devolved on his brother Maurice. But having lost his inheritance, which vested in the Crown, he was never summoned to Parliament. In 1500, however, he and Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey (as representatives of the two coheiresses of Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk), made partition of that property, among which was a considerable estate in Ireland, afterwards lost to the family by the Statute of Absentees in the reign of Henry VIII. Maurice died in 1506, and was succeeded by his son Maurice, who was made a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Henry VIII.; in 1512 Knight of the Body to that King; in 1514 attended the Princess Mary when she was married to the King

of France; was sheriff of Gloucestershire for two successive years, Lieutenant of the Castle of Calais, and captain of fifty men-at-arms. In 1522 he was summoned to Parliament, but sat as a junior baron according to this new creation. In the ensuing year he accompanied the Duke of Suffolk in his expedition to assist the Emperor Maximilian. He died at Calais without issue September 12, 1523, and was succeeded in the Mowbray property by his brother Thomas, who had in 1513 been knighted by the Earl of Surrey for his gallant behaviour at Flodden Field. In the 22d Henry VIII. he signed the letter of the Lords to the Pope respecting the divorce of Catherine of Arragon, and in the 24th year of the same reign he was made *Constable* of Berkeley Castle. Three years before—the 3d of November 1529—he had been summoned to Parliament, and took precedence according to the older barony of Berkeley,—a proof in itself that the barony was *not* necessarily tied up with the tenure of the Castle of Berkeley, as was afterwards asserted. He died the 28th of January 1533, and was succeeded in the Mowbray property by his son Thomas, who was summoned to Parliament January 5, 1534, and sat according to the precedence of the older barony, but died September 19 in the same year, and was succeeded in the Mowbray estates by a posthumous son, Henry, who, on the death of King Edward VI., the last *male* heir of Henry VII., recovered the Berkeley family estates, with the castle. The inquisition of these estates taken on the death of Edward gives them as follows:—The castle and manor of Berkeley, the manors of Hane, Apulridge, Slymbridge, Hurst, Cowley, Alkington, Came, Hynton, Wotton-under-Edge

with the advowson thereof, Symondshall, and Erdingham, in Gloucestershire; the manors of Portbury and Portshead in Somersetshire; one-fourth of the manor of Tiborne *alias* Marybone [Tyburn and Marylebone], in Middlesex; and the manor of Shington, in Warwickshire. He was summoned to Parliament November 5, 1558, but appears also to have sat before in the 4th and 5th of that reign. He was still, however, haunted by the old lawsuit, which was revived in Queen Elizabeth's reign by the Dudleys, Earls of Warwick and Leicester, who represented the descendants of Talbot, Lord Lisle, and maintained a long and chargeable suit against Lord Berkeley, which was at last ended in the 7th of James I. by a reference. He is said to have outbid Queen Elizabeth for a lute. It is also said that, in 1572, the Queen, at the instigation of Leicester, who knew that expense at that time was inconvenient to Lord Berkeley, announced her intention of paying him a visit at Berkeley Castle. To avoid this Lord Berkeley hastily left home, and sent an apology to the Queen on that score. The apology (say the Berkeleys) was perverted by Leicester into an insolent message, and Elizabeth resolved to carry out her purpose, and killed a large part of Berkeley's deer for her entertainment, leaving word she would repeat her visit. Lord Berkeley, to avoid this, disparked his deer-park; but being warned by friends of Leicester's designs on his estate, had the prudence to avoid any further manifestations of his anger. He was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Gloucestershire in the 1st James I., and died November 26, 1613, aged seventy-nine. His eldest son, Sir Thomas, died in his father's lifetime, November 22, 1611, leaving a son,

George, who succeeded his grandfather as twelfth Baron by writ of summons (omitting the disinherited Maurice). He was made a Knight of the Bath, 1616, travelled much abroad, and is recorded to have been distinguished for his liberality and affability to his inferiors. He espoused the cause of the Parliament in the Civil War, and his castle was occupied and garrisoned by the Cavaliers against him till retaken by Colonel Rainsborough (September 26, 1645), in the campaign after the battle of Naseby.* He died August 10, 1658, and was succeeded by his son George, thirteenth Lord Berkeley by summons, raised by Charles II. to the titles of Viscount Dursley and Earl of Berkeley on the 11th of September 1679, having in 1678 been sworn of the Privy Council. He was a man of strict virtue and religious character, and wrote a tract called '*Historical Applications and Occasional Meditations upon Several Subjects*' (1670), on which Waller wrote some lines:—

> "Bold is the man that dares engage
> For piety in such an age," &c.

King James II. made him Lord-Lieutenant of Gloucestershire, and, July 21, 1685, one of the Privy Council. But when the King withdrew, December 10, 1689, he was one of the Lords who at Guildhall subscribed a declaration that they would assist the Prince of Orange. At the accession of William and Mary he

* Mr Grantley Berkeley seems to labour under the delusion that his ancestor was a Cavalier. The loss of the "supernumerary suits of mail" which he bewails so much, is just as likely to lie at the door of the Cavalier garrison, under Sir Charles Lucas, when they first occupied the Castle, as at that of Cromwell's soldiers.

was appointed one of the Privy Council and Lord-Lieutenant of Surrey, and died October 14, 1698, aged seventy-one. He married Elizabeth, one of the coheiresses of John Massingberd, Esq., of Lincolnshire, and his eldest son by her, Charles, succeeded as second Earl of Berkeley. He had been made a Knight of the Bath in 1661, in 1679 and 1681 sat for the city of Gloucester in Parliament, and on the accession of William and Mary was called up to the House of Peers (July 11, 1689) as Baron Berkeley of Berkeley. In the same year he went as Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States of Holland, and remained till 1695, when he was made one of the Privy Council. He was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Gloucester, and in 1699 one of the Lords Justices of Ireland. He was sworn of Queen Anne's Privy Council on June 7, 1702, appointed Constable of the Castle of Briaval in the forest of Dean, and keeper of the forest, and Lord-Lieutenant of Gloucestershire and Surrey. He died September 24, 1710. His eldest son, Charles, died of smallpox in May 1699, and he was succeeded as third Earl Berkeley by his second son, James. His third, Henry, a colonel in the army, represented Gloucestershire in Parliament. His second daughter, Elizabeth, married Sir John Germaine of Drayton, Northamptonshire, who left her his estates, which she bequeathed to the too celebrated Lord George Sackville, who took thereupon the name of Germaine. James, third Earl, was a sailor of distinction. He sat in William's last Parliament for the city of Gloucester, and was called up to the House of Peers, March 7, 1704, as Baron Dursley. He commanded the Boyne (80 guns) in Sir George Rooke's engagement with the

French off Malaga, August 13, 1704, served under Sir Cloudesley Shovel at the siege of Toulon, and was nearly lost along with him on a ridge of rocks on his return. He rose to be an admiral, and continued to distinguish himself in sea engagements till his accession to the Earldom. He was made Lord-Lieutenant of Gloucestershire and Custos Rotulorum of the city and county of Bristol, Warden of the Forest of Dean, and High Steward of Gloucester. On the accession of George I. he was appointed one of the Lords of the Bedchamber; on April 16, 1717, sworn of the Privy Council; and March 18, 1718, made First Commissioner of the Admiralty, in which office he continued all the rest of the reign of George I. He was also Vice-Admiral of Great Britain and Lieutenant of the Admiralty thereof, and Lieutenant of the Navies and Seas of the kingdom of Great Britain. He was five times a Lord Justice; made a Knight of the Garter in 1718; in September 1727 was made Lord-Lieutenant of Lincolnshire, and on November 10 of Gloucestershire, and Custos Rotulorum of the cities and counties of Bristol and Gloucester, and of Surrey; Keeper of the Forest of Dean; Constable of St Briaval's, and Vice-Admiral of England as before. He died in August 1736. He was succeeded by his son, Augustus, fourth Earl of Berkeley, who went into the army, was in 1737 made Lord-Lieutenant of Gloucestershire; in 1739 one of the Knights of the Thistle, and in 1745 colonel of one of the regiments sent against the rebels. He also effectually secured his part of the country against the Jacobites, when they were hesitating as to rising to join the Chevalier. He it is who is said to have offered to George II. to kidnap his obnoxious

son Frederick, and dispose of him in some way in America. He died January 9, 1755, and was succeeded by his son Frederick Augustus, fifth Earl of Berkeley. He was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Gloucestershire, Custos Rotulorum of Bristol and Gloucester; Warden of the Forest of Dean, Constable of St Briaval's, High Steward of Gloucester, and colonel of the militia of Gloucestershire and of Bristol and Gloucester. He died August 8, 1810. At this period the estate attached to the castle, in Mr Grantley Berkeley's words, "produced a princely income—the dairy and orchard farms of the Vale of Berkeley being some of the most valuable in the country—and the hospitality and liberality of successive lords of Berkeley kept up the old feudal residence in all its pride and power. Everything attempted there seemed to be done well, and on audit-days a numerous tenantry feasted sumptuously in the 'great hall.' In its stupendous walls, and thick oaken beams and flooring, the old place is perfectly untouched by time; and between the stones of the battlements, and in the very steepest part of the walls, the wallflower and snapdragon grow luxuriantly; in several instances, even dwarf, but thriving, yew-trees." The Earl formed an intimacy with Mary, daughter of William Cole, and it was afterwards maintained that he married her at Berkeley on March 30, 1785, and he was subsequently certainly married to her at Lambeth, May 16, 1796. On his death a question arose whether the children born between those dates were legitimate or not, and the House of Lords, on reference to a Committee of Privileges, came to a vote, July 1, 1811, disallowing the former marriage. The four eldest sons therefore,

born *before* the Lambeth marriage, were made illegitimate, and the title of Earl of Berkeley adjudged to the fifth son, Thomas Moreton Fitzhardinge, born October 19, 1796. In 1828 the eldest son, William Fitzhardinge, then Colonel Berkeley, took steps to establish the right of the holder of the castle of Berkeley (left him by his father) to sit as a Baron by *tenure*. The point, however, was not then determined, Colonel Berkeley being created in 1831 Baron Segrave, and in 1841 Earl Fitzhardinge. His brother Thomas has never assumed the title of Earl of Berkeley, generously deeming that the title would be borne at the expense of a slur upon his mother's fame. He has also made over, for his lifetime, to his illegitimate brothers, the London property, left by Lord Berkeley of Stratton to whoever was Earl of Berkeley, with, of course, "an immense amount of ready money as the leases fell in." Earl Fitzhardinge died in October 1857, leaving the castle, &c., to his next brother, Maurice Frederick Fitzhardinge, an admiral in the navy, and who had served many years in Parliament for the city of Gloucester, and was one of the Lords of the Admiralty in the Whig Governments. He revived the claim to the barony, but it was decided against him, and he was subsequently, August 5, 1861, created Baron Fitzhardinge. The family have great influence in Gloucestershire, which they have always exerted in the Whig and Liberal interest. They command one Parliamentary seat for the county of Gloucester, one for the city of Gloucester, and generally one for Cheltenham; and Francis *Henry* Fitzhardinge Berkeley, the youngest of the "illegitimate" brothers, has sat for twenty-seven years for the city of Bristol,

and is well known for his genial and consistent advocacy of the ballot. "If it be true, that around the castle, hill and vale, there are 30,000 acres, as I have heard it asserted," says Mr Grantley Berkeley, "those acres, the fisheries on the Severn, joined to household property forming part of the estate, cannot bring in much less than £60,000 sterling a-year."

The fate of the family is a strange one; but opinion and the Crown combine to override the decision of the House of Lords, and the owners of the castle are considered the legitimate as well as the lineal representatives of the great family whose name they bear.

The Seymours.

THE Seymours, now Dukes of Somerset, are really Tudor nobles, for it was with Henry VIII.'s marriage to Jane Seymour that they became great in the land; but the family had long had a footing on the soil, and *may* even possibly be descended from one of the Conqueror's followers. It is clear that a landed proprietor named WILLIAM ST MAUR, and of considerable rank and possessions, did in Henry III.'s reign bargain with Gilbert Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, for his aid in taking from the Welshman Morgan, son of Huel, the manor of Undy near Penhow, in Monmouthshire, where stood a church dedicated to St Maur. The manor was obtained, and the St Maurs, who had a castle and park at Penhow, were in 1270 found to possess rights of housebote and heybote as having appertained to Penhow since the Conquest. This William used the pair of wings still part of the coat of arms of the Seymours. Beyond this all is vague; and though the presumption is that the first St Maur came from the place of that name in Normandy, there is no evidence whatever of the fact. Roger, in whose time the assize as to the right of

housebote was held, died before the 28th Edward I., and in 8th Edward II. his son Roger de Seymour appears as Lord of Penhow and Undy, and probably married Joan, the heiress of Danarel of Devonshire.

He had two sons—one, John, whose line died out, and another, ROGER, who married the coheiress of John de Beauchamp, Baron of Hache, who in the 36th Edward III. had assigned for her share on the partition of the inheritance of the Beauchamps the manors of Hache, Shepton-Beauchamp, Murifield, and the third part of Shepton-Malet, in the county of Somerset; also certain lands in Sturminster-Marshel, in Dorset; the manors of Boultbury and Haberton, in Devonshire; the manors of Dourton, in Bucks, and Little Haw, in Suffolk, and two parts of the manor of Selling, in Kent. She survived her husband, and died in 1393. Roger Seymour, on obtaining these lands of his wife's, removed into Somersetshire, and there, and in Devonshire, the family thenceforth became established. He was succeeded by his son, Sir William, who in the 36th Edward III. accompanied that King into Gascony. He sometimes resided at Undy, which had either been left to his father Roger as the younger son's portion, or had come to the younger branch of the Seymours on the extinction of the elder. According to a letter of the Earl of Hertford's, it was not until a much later period, that of his grandfather, that Penhow, the "Seymour castle in Wales," was sold. Collins therefore seems mistaken in giving to Roger, the son of John Seymour of Penhow (elder brother of Roger of Hache), a daughter and heiress, and marrying her to a Bowlays. Sir William Seymour married Margaret, daughter and

heiress of Simon de Brockburn, of Brockburn [Broxbourne], in Hertfordshire, by Joan, sister and heiress of Sir Peter de la Mare." Roger, her son and heir by Sir William Seymour, married the daughter and coheiress of Sir William Esturmi or Sturmy, of Chadham, in Wilts, and lord of Wolfhall in that county, whose ancestors were bailiffs and guardians of the forest of Savernake by right of inheritance from the time of Henry II., and, according to Camden, Seymour, Earl of Hertford in the time of Elizabeth, still kept "their hunter's horn, of a mighty bigness, and tipped with silver." His great-grandson, John, left five sons, the eldest of whom, John, succeeded him in the 7th Henry VII. He distinguished himself at the defeat of Lord Audley and the Cornish insurgents at Blackheath in 1497, and was knighted by the King on the field of battle, and in the 23d of that reign was Sheriff of Wiltshire. He served in Henry VIII.'s wars in France and Flanders, and was made a Knight-Banneret in 1513. In the 7th and 18th Henry VIII. he was Sheriff of Dorset and Somerset, and in the 10th and 16th of Wiltshire. In the 9th Henry VIII., being then one of the Knights of the Body to the King, he obtained a grant of the constableship of Bristol Castle to himself, and Edward his son. In 1518 he was charged to provide ten men for the wars in respect of lands in Wiltshire. In 1520 he attended the King to the meeting of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, with a retinue of one chaplain, eleven servants, and eight led horses. He waited on the King at his second interview with Francis at Boulogne in 1532, as one of the Grooms of the Chamber, and died December 21, 1536, aged

sixty. He it probably was who sold the old family estate in Monmouthshire. He married Margery, second daughter of Sir Henry Wentworth, of Nettlested, in Suffolk, Knight of the Bath, by whom he had six sons and four daughters. Of the latter, the eldest, JANE, Maid of Honour to Queen Anne Boleyn, on the 20th May 1536 succeeded her as third wife of Henry VIII., and died October 14, 1537, two days after the birth of her son, afterwards Edward VI.

The fortunes of the Seymours now cluster around EDWARD SEYMOUR, eldest son and successor of Sir John, and brother of Queen Jane Seymour. We must here confine ourselves to the salient points of his life and character. He was educated first at Oxford and afterwards at Cambridge. Thence he proceeded to Court under the auspices of his father, and in 1523 served in the expedition of the Duke of Suffolk to France, and was knighted by the Duke for his gallantry. In the 16th Henry VIII., being an esquire of the King's household, he was one of the challengers in the tilt-yard at Greenwich. In the 19th of the same reign he accompanied Cardinal Wolsey on his embassy to France. Five years afterwards—in 1532—he was at the Boulogne meeting of the Kings. But his sister's marriage of course brought him more rapid promotion. On the 5th of June following that event, 1536, he was created Viscount Beauchamp of Hache, Somerset, with twenty marks yearly payable out of the counties of Somerset and Dorset. In the same year, with Sir Richard Buckley (or Bulkeley), ancestor of a family still great in Anglesey, he had a grant of the office of Chancellor and Chamberlain of North Wales for life, and was made Captain of the Isle of Jersey. On Octo-

ber 18, 1537, four days after the death of his sister Queen Jane, he was created Earl of Hertford, with remainder to his issue male *thereafter* to be begotten. In the 32d Henry VIII. he was sent over to France to determine the English and French borders, and on his return was made a Knight of the Garter, January 9, 1542. In the 33d Henry VIII., as cousin and heir of Sir William Sturmy, of Wolfhall, he had livery of his lands, and in the same year accompanied the Duke of Norfolk in his Scotch expedition. In the 34th Henry VIII. he was made Grand Chamberlain of England for life, and in the same year (1544) was appointed to command another expedition into Scotland, his orders being to proclaim the King of England guardian of the Queen and protector of the realm of Scotland, and in every town and village to nail a placard on the church-doors signifying that the Scots had to thank Cardinal Betoun for the sufferings inflicted by the war. His fleet arrived in the Firth of Forth on the 3d of May. He landed the troops the next day, got possession of Leith, took Edinburgh by storm, wasted the country for seven miles round with fire and pillage, putting all who resisted to the sword,—such were his express orders,—sacked and destroyed Leith, and by the 15th of May was again in England with his spoils, having lost only forty persons in the whole expedition. On the King's expedition into France in the same year, Lord Hertford was appointed one of the Council to assist the Queen in her Regency, and Captain-General of any forces that might have to be raised. He afterwards joined the King, and assisted in the taking of Boulogne. On the 26th of January 1545, the French, under M. de Biez, encamped before Boulogne to the number of 14,000, but

on the 6th of February they were surprised in their camp before daybreak by Lord Hertford, were completely routed and chased as far as Hardelot, the English cavalry returning at their leisure to Boulogne with the spoils of the country. In the same month there were Border incursions and counter-incursions on the Scotch frontier. Lord Evers destroyed the tombs of the Douglases at Melrose, and the Earl of Angus retaliated by routing and killing Evers at Ancrum Moor. Hertford was recalled from France to restore matters in that quarter. He destroyed all the towns upon the Middle Marches, and made great spoil in the West Marches. In 1546 he was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and in March of that year, the Earl of Surrey having been unsuccessful at Boulogne, Hertford was sent to take his place, with a force of thirty thousand men, but peace was concluded in June following. The King's death was now to remove Hertford from these scenes of military glory to a post more arduous, and, as it proved, less suited to his peculiar temperament. Henry spent the day before his death in conversation with him and Sir William Paget on the condition of the country, seeming to imply thereby that he looked to them as the heads of the new Government. Hertford was the leader of the Protestant party in the Council for the young King named by his father in his will, Paget representing the more purely Henrician or balancing policy, the Catholics being also represented. Henry had appointed Hertford one of his executors, with a legacy of £500. The King had either intended to leave it to chance which of the parties should preponderate in the Council and the Government of his son, or he entertained

the vain hope that he had so impressed his *personal* policy on the Government that it would survive him and be the rule of his successor. But Hertford at any rate saw clearly enough that the new reign could not merely follow in the wake of the last, and that one party or another would give its decided tone to the administration. He resolved that this should be the Protestant, and as its representative he determined to obtain a larger share of authority than that awarded by the will, so as to be able to mould the policy of the new reign according to his views. He wisely applied to Paget for his aid, and Paget agreed to assist him. He then hurried off to his royal nephew, who was in Hertfordshire, and three days afterwards he escorted Edward up to the Tower. The public had only then been told officially of the King's death, and Paget was already proposing to the Council a Protectorate, and despite the opposition of the Chancellor Wriothesley carried his point, and on the 1st of February 1547, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, was declared Governor of the King's person and Lord Protector of the realm. Henry himself, according to Paget, had meditated several elevations to the peerage, and had in two separate lists named Hertford for a dukedom. This, on the 16th of February 1547, the Council ordered should be granted to him, and accordingly on that day he was created Duke of Somerset. He had been created Baron Seymour the previous day.

On the 17th of February the new Duke of Somerset was made Earl Marshal of England for life, in place of the Duke of Norfolk; and on March 12 he had a patent for his offices of Protector and Governor; and on July 9 a grant of 9000 marks per annum for his

Protectorate. On the same day that Seymour himself was made a Duke his brother Thomas was created Baron Seymour of Sudeley, Gloucestershire. The ambitious designs and cabals of Lord Seymour against his brother's Government are matters of history; they failed, being too evidently mere aspirations of personal ambition, and the ill-feeling against the Protector not yet being sufficiently matured. He married Queen Catherine Parr, and, before as well as after her death, aspired to the hand of the Princess Elizabeth. He was executed in March 1549. Somerset can hardly be reproached for his brother's death; he had endeavoured repeatedly to disarm his jealous ambition by kindness, and at the last, when the Commons, in a House of almost four hundred members, had passed the Bill of Attainder with not more than ten or twelve nays, and had sent it up to the King with a special request "that justice might have place," it was found necessary by the Council to prevent an interview between the brothers, for had it taken place, as Somerset himself assured the Princess Elizabeth, the Lord Admiral would not have suffered. He was evidently, in the words of Latimer, "a wicked man, and the realm was well rid of him." The war with Scotland, entailing the great defeat of the Scots at Pinkie, is subject no doubt to animadversion, as disastrous to English and most favourable to French interests in Scotland; yet the same may be said of Henry VIII.'s policy, of which it was a palpable copy. Somerset exhibited again in this campaign his genius as a commander. His French policy was less successful, in a military point of view, but it remains to be seen how far the Protector was himself answerable for this.

The faults of his administration are at any rate almost always those of a man of great ideas and generous instincts. This is virtually admitted even by those who blame him most. It is his merit that, with everything in his early training and associations and his positive interests to lead in the other direction, he had the courage to strike a blow—too hasty a one, no doubt—at the selfish, cold-blooded policy of Henry, of which expediency and the King's will seemed to be the only ruling principles. He believed thoroughly in the importance of Protestantism to the real advancement of England, and resolved to proceed vigorously to work to set its machinery in full operation, and to remove the deteriorating influences of Romanism. He wished to have the new system as soon as possible established in its *entirety*, which he considered essential to its efficiency, and he therefore proceeded at a speed which took away the breath of his cautious counsellor Paget. "Alas! sir, take pity of the King and of the conservation and state of the realm," he writes to Somerset. "Put no more so many irons in the fire at once, as you have had within this twelvemonth,—war with Scotland, with France, though it be not so termed, commissions out for that matter, new laws for this, proclamations for another." And to Sir William Petre Paget observes at a later period, "To alter the state of a realm would ask ten years' deliberation." Somerset, however, might have carried out his Protestant policy successfully if he had been willing to keep on terms with the great peers and gentlemen who had made fortunes out of the spoils of the Catholic Church, and were many of them abusing their new positions by neglect and oppression of

the commonalty. But Somerset had a keen sympathy with the masses, and determined to enforce the law against their oppressors. He sent down a commission to inquire into the illegal enclosures made by the great proprietors, and when the lower orders, anticipating his judgment, rose and riotously attacked the properties of their encroaching neighbours, and removed forcibly the palings of the new parks, driving and killing the deer, Somerset openly said that "he liked well the doings of the people," "the covetousness of the gentlemen gave occasion to them to rise; it was better they should die than perish for lack of living," and issued a proclamation that illegal enclosures should be levelled on a day which he specified; and a second, that no one should be vexed or sued for any part which he had taken in the riots. Paget exhorted him to put down the rioters first and punish the enclosers afterwards, but vainly; for when the Catholic risings of the populace took place in the West and Norfolk, the Protector sent down another Enclosure Commission, with circulars insisting that every gentleman of his own estate should reform himself before proceeding to the redress of others, and throw down his hedges and embankments. He was also accused of lending ear to an unwise extent to Latimer's recommendations of mercy and pardon after the suppression of the rising. "What saith your Grace," wrote Paget,—"'Many of the King's subjects all out of discipline, out of obedience, caring neither for Protector nor King: What is the matter?' Marry, sir, that which I said to your Grace in the gallery. Liberty! Liberty! And your Grace's too much gentleness, your softness, your opinion to be good to the poor, the opinion of such

as saith to your Grace, 'Oh sir! there was never man had the hearts of the poor as you have.'" That there was some personal vanity and self-esteem mixed up with this tender compassion for the poor is evident, but it occupies unhappily so exceptional a place in the history of our rulers in former times that we may well excuse the personal weakness. But such a policy towards the great men ought to have been accompanied by a rigid care in the Protector and his counsellors of their own personal demeanour and conduct. Somerset, however, is accused by Paget of allowing himself to be flattered by a set of men unworthy of his confidence, and who abused it by their own venality. Among these he especially names Sir John Thynne. Misled by the flattery of these men, according to Paget in straightforward letters to Somerset himself, the Duke overrode the opinion of the Council by his own, without giving them any chance of influencing the decision, and when opposed in anything exhibited an irritation and passion which had been formerly quite alien to him. We must remember in all these statements that Paget, though personally friendly to Somerset, thoroughly disapproved of his leaning towards the poorer classes in opposition to the rich lords. But the Protector also added to the odium against him, and greatly increased the number of his ill-wishers, by his great accumulation of wealth, the large grants of lands which he obtained from the Crown, and the scale and magnificence of his household establishment and expenditure. This was contrasted by his enemies with the impoverished state of the Exchequer, the debased coinage, and the great distress prevailing in the country. Somerset

was not indifferent to this distress, and did his best to remedy it, but his ostentatious display of his own wealth under these circumstances was urged against him as a standing insult to the people. It is not possible to estimate the exact extent of his accumulations of property. After his Scotch victory on October 18, 1547, the King was made to settle on the Duke and his heirs for ever lands to the value of £500 a-year, and at his fall he was fined at £2000 a-year of land. "He began to build a palace for himself where the modern Somerset House now stands, and retains his name. He pulled down a parish church to make room for it, and to provide materials he blew up with gunpowder a new and exceedingly beautiful chapel, lately built by the last Prior of the Knights of St John." In 1549 the discontent between him and the Council came to a crisis, the malcontents being headed by John Dudley, Viscount Lisle, and Earl of Warwick, who had next to Somerset himself been the most distinguished of the commanders of that age. Somerset charged the Council with treason, carried off the King to Windsor, and endeavoured to raise the country. But the great lords who had forces in the field, having been engaged in suppressing the Western insurrection, declared against him, and finding himself deserted by nearly everybody, Somerset gave up the contest, he and his few remaining friends were placed under restraint, and on October 14 (1549), he was sent to the Tower, where he continued four months, being meanwhile deprived of his whole estate, offices, and profits. He then made his submission and implored the King's clemency, on which he was released on February 16, 1550. An attempt was made to effect a reconciliation

between him and Dudley, the latter's eldest son being on June 3d married to Somerset's eldest daughter in the King's presence. The next day the King gave him back some lands which were part of the inheritance of his ancestors—viz., the Castle of Marlborough and all his lordships and manors of Barton, Ludgershall, Alborn, and Old Wotton, and his parks of Ludgershall, Great Vastern, Little Vastern, Alborn Chase, and Alborn Warren, and the forests and liberties of the forests of Bradon and Savernake in the county of Wilts, and divers other lordships, manors, lands, and tenements in the counties of Wilts, Hants, Dorset, Somerset, Middlesex, Berks, and Bucks. On the next day the King granted him licence to retain 200 persons resident in his domains, besides his household servants, stewards, &c., and to give them badges or livery; and on the 14th, in consideration of his right to the castle and lordship of Sleaford and other lands and manors in Lincolnshire, the King by patent gave him all the messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments in the town of Glastonbury, Somerset, and other lands and tenements in Kingston-upon-Hull. On July 19, he had a general pardon. The Duke now performed a lasting service to England by establishing, on the site of the Abbey of Glastonbury, of which he had obtained a grant, a company of foreign woollen manufacturers, headed by their pastor and a person of the name of Cornish. He was soon restored to the Privy Council, and began sensibly to recover ground and receive many marks of the King's favour. His son, the Earl of Hertford, was equipped at the King's expense when he went to France as one of the English hostages, and Somerset himself had the

command given him of a troop of newly-raised horse-guards, 100 in number; and in April 1551 he was made Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Bucks and Berks. Dudley's Government had by this time become so unpopular, that in the spring of this year (1551), Somerset began to entertain hopes of upsetting him and getting restored to the Protectorate. He had opposed Dudley's treatment of Gardiner and the Princess Mary; he now began to intrigue busily against him, among others with the Catholics, to whom he held out the hope of a general toleration. The Earl of Arundel entered warmly into the conspiracy, which included the seizure of Warwick, Northampton, and Herbert; and it would appear that the wary Paget was induced to lend an ear to the plot. On the 7th of October, however, Sir Thomas Palmer, one of the conspirators, betrayed them to Warwick, exaggerating the alleged purposes of his friends into an attempt at a banquet on Warwick's life. The *Catholic* element in Somerset's plot was used with effect to alienate from him that zealous Protestant the boy-king Edward. Parliament, which was to have sat on the 13th, and in which Somerset intended to have moved against Warwick, was prorogued to the January following. Dudley, Herbert, and others were raised to higher titles in the peerage, and on the 16th of October Somerset was arrested. He confessed his real intentions; but on the 1st of December he was arraigned in Westminster Hall, the place being thronged with enthusiastic admirers, notwithstanding the order of the Council that every one should stay at home. Somerset was accused of treason and felony, and after a trial in the fashion of those days, was acquitted of the first count

—treason—but found guilty of felony, sentenced to death, and on the 22d of January 1552, executed on Tower Hill, addressing the assembled people in a speech which elicited their warmest sympathy, and which showed the necessity of the great precautions which the Government had taken to prevent a rescue. He was regarded by the common people as their martyr. Many dipped handkerchiefs in his blood and kept them as relics; and Dudley, now Duke of Northumberland, never surmounted the popular hatred which he that day incurred. On his subsequent fall after his abortive attempt to substitute Lady Jane Grey as Queen for the Princess Mary, as he was led captive through the streets of London, a woman shook one of these blood-stained handkerchiefs in his face, exclaiming, "Behold, the blood of that worthy man, that good uncle of that excellent King, which was shed by thy treacherous machinations, now at this moment begins to revenge itself upon thee!" Thus perished Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, reaping the twofold harvest he had sown,—death as the punishment of his mismanagement and unjustifiable ostentation, and the enduring love of the people as the reward of his generous intentions and sympathies in their cause.

The patent of the Duke of Somerset was with remainder of the dignity to his issue male by Ann, his *then* wife, begotten or to be begotten; remainder to Edward Seymour, Esq., and his issue male, being son of the said Duke, by Katharine his *first* wife; remainder to the issue male of the said Duke to be hereafter begotten by any other wife. This singular disposition, by which the children by the second marriage

were preferred to those by the first, is explained by a domestic calamity which had befallen Seymour. He had been twice married, his first wife being Katharine, daughter and coheiress of Sir William Fillot, of Fillot Hall, Essex, and Woodlands, Dorset. Her he repudiated on account of her alleged incestuous intercourse, after marriage, with her own father. He afterwards married Ann, daughter of Sir Edward Stanhope, of Sudbury, Suffolk, and Rampton, Notts, who was heiress to her mother Elizabeth, sister to John Bouchier, Earl of Bath, and great-granddaughter of William Bouchier, Earl of Ewe, in Normandy, and Anne his wife, daughter and sole heir of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III. This *second* wife of Seymour was an ambitious, extravagant woman, very proud of her ancestry, and very imperious in her manners. From the *second* marriage descended the first line of Earls and Marquesses of Hertford and Dukes of Somerset; from the *first* are descended the present Duke of Somerset and the present Marquess of Hertford. The Protector left by his first wife two sons, the elder of whom, John (who seems to have been virtually stigmatised as illegitimate by his father's patents of creation), died about a year after his father, leaving his property to his brother, Sir Edward, the ancestor of the present Seymour families. But it is necessary to pursue first the fortunes of the family by the second marriage, which had been preferred by the Duke to his elder children. They consisted of three sons and six daughters, their mother—the haughty Duchess—remarrying Francis Newdigate, Esq. The eldest and the only son who left issue was another Edward, who bore until his father's attainder the title

of Earl of Hertford, and was deprived by Act of Parliament of the 5th and 6th Edward VI. of all his dignities and titles, which, with lands of £5000 yearly value, were annexed to the Crown. He was then thirteen years of age, and remained thus deprived until, on the 13th of January 1559, Queen Elizabeth created him Baron Beauchamp of Hache and Earl of Hertford. But his ambition led him to take a step which brought on him the jealous displeasure of that Queen. He secretly married the Lady Catherine Grey, sister of Lady Jane Grey, and daughter and heiress of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, by Lady Frances Brandon, daughter and heiress of the Princess Mary, younger sister of Henry VIII. Lady Catherine had been married to Henry, Lord Herbert, eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke, but the marriage had been set aside. It threw, however, a certain legal doubt on the validity of the subsequent marriage with Lord Hertford, which was increased by its secrecy. In 1563 Lady Catherine was found to be with child, and avowed her marriage with Hertford, on which she was committed to the Tower. Her husband, on his return from France and avowal of the marriage, was committed to the same place, and the birth of a son was followed subsequently by those of two others, owing to the connivance of their keeper. The Earl was thereupon proceeded against in the Star Chamber, the Queen treating the alleged marriage as an invention; he was fined £15,000, and kept prisoner in the Tower for nine years, his unfortunate wife dying in that prison on January 26, 1567. The validity of the marriage was afterwards tried and established by the verdict of a jury. Notwithstanding all his misadven-

tures, the Earl recovered so much of his fortune,—his long imprisonment no doubt contributing to swell his property by accumulations,—that when in James I.'s reign, in 1605, he was with much importunity prevailed upon to go as Ambassador to the Archduke Albert, Governor of the Netherlands, Carte says that he was said to be possessed of more ready money than any other nobleman, and that he resolved to spend on his embassy £10,000 beyond his allowance. He died in April 1621, at the age of eighty-three. He was twice married after the death of his first wife, but had no issue by any except her.

His eldest son, Edward, Lord Beauchamp, had died before him. Lord Beauchamp had obtained, May 14, 1608 (notwithstanding the protest of the elder branch of the Seymours), letters-patent that he and the heirs male of his body, immediately after the death of his father, should be Barons of Parliament, and have place and voice there; and for the enjoyment of the title of Earl of Hertford immediately on his father's decease, or, in case of his death before his father, the said title to be enjoyed by his sons in succession and the heirs male of their bodies. He got into considerable trouble through marrying, without the consent of his father, Honoria, daughter of Sir Richard Rogers, of Bryanston, Dorset. He died, as we have said, before his father, and his eldest son, Edward, who had been created a Knight of the Bath, and married Lady Anne Sackville, daughter of the Earl of Dorset, having died before his father and grandfather, leaving no male issue, the Earldom of Hertford and Barony of Beauchamp devolved on the next son of Lord Beauchamp, Sir William Seymour, Knight of the Bath. How

this nobleman, when only Mr Seymour, engaged the affections of the Lady Arabella Stuart, daughter of Charles Stuart, fifth Earl of Lennox, uncle of James I., and involved himself and her in deep trouble, is part of the history of England. They had been acquainted as children, and meeting again at Court, formed an attachment, which was discovered in February 1609. They were called before the Council, sharply reprimanded, and warned as to their future conduct. They contrived, however, soon after to get secretly married, and the marriage being discovered in 1610, Mr Seymour was committed to the Tower and Lady Arabella to private custody. On the 3d of June 1611 she managed to escape from her keeper, and reached a French vessel in safety; Seymour effected his escape from the Tower at the same time, but failing to join his wife in time she sailed without him, and being pursued and overtaken in Calais Roads by a vessel of war, was brought back, and died half-crazed in the Tower, September 27, 1615. Seymour had reached Flanders in another vessel. Here he remained till the year after the death of his wife, when he was permitted to return, pardoned, and restored to favour, the dread of the King lest an heir should be born uniting the claims to the throne of the Stuart and Suffolk branches of the royal family having ceased with Lady Arabella's death. William Seymour, whose career had commenced thus inauspiciously, soon became conspicuous in Parliament. Though not without energy and talent when actually engaged in any practical enterprise, he was, as a *statesman*, a man of the closet. When he could form his opinions there at leisure, without being disturbed

by the external passions of party or the exigencies of a political crisis, he generally formed a sound judgment, and by his character and conduct gained general respect. His opinions were really in accordance with the popular party, though his extreme caution or moderation in practice scarcely brought him into collision with the King. He married, secondly, Frances, daughter of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, Elizabeth's unlucky favourite, and this alliance bound him up to a considerable extent with the popular party, of which his wife's brother was one of the leaders. His brother, Sir Francis Seymour, also took a leading part in the counsels of Eliot and Pym. The King probably to some extent weakened this connection by raising Hertford to the title of Marquess on the 3d of June 1640, just after the dissolution of the Short Parliament, and by creating Sir Francis Baron Seymour of Troubridge, Wiltshire, on the 19th February 1641, thus alienating him from his former friends. But the Marquess continued to be regarded with confidence by the popular party. He was chosen, on their request, Governor of the Prince of Wales, and named by them for two of the Lord-Lieutenancies for which they gave in a list of recommendations to the King. But Hertford wavered more and more between his abstract loyalty and his liberal tendencies and attachment to Protestantism. At last, in the crisis of the rupture with the King, he carried off the Prince of Wales, and openly joined Charles. During the civil war which followed he shared his fortunes, and commanded for him in Somersetshire and Wiltshire, being always looked upon, however, as a moderate man, scarcely a true Cavalier, and in his

actual opinions much in harmony still with the moderate of the popular party. Before the King's execution the Marquess, with the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Southampton, and the Earl of Lindsey, are said to have offered to suffer in his stead, if his life were spared; and they obtained licence to attend and superintend the burial of the King. He had been elected by the King's orders Chancellor of the University of Oxford on October 24, 1643, which appointment was of course not recognised by the Parliament, but was realised on the Restoration. During the Commonwealth and Protectorate he lived in retirement, but met King Charles II. on his return at Dover, and the next day, May 27, 1660, had the Garter bestowed on him. On the 13th of September in the same year the attainder of his ancestor the great Duke was reversed in Parliament, and he was restored to the titles of Duke of Somerset and Baron Seymour. But he died on the 24th of October in the same year.

He had by his second wife two sons who grew up to maturity, Henry and John. The former, styled Lord Beauchamp, married Mary, eldest daughter of Arthur, Lord Capel, and died in the lifetime of his father in the year 1656, leaving a son, William, who succeeded his grandfather, and a daughter, Elizabeth, who married Thomas Bruce, Lord Bruce, and afterwards Earl of Ailesbury, from whom (through a female) descend the present Brudenell-Bruces, Marquesses of Ailesbury, Earls Bruce, and Viscounts Savernake, the great Wiltshire estates of the Seymours having passed away eventually through this marriage to the Bruce family. William Seymour, third Duke of Somerset, died, after a few days' illness, at Wor-

cester House, in the Strand, unmarried, at the age of twenty, September 26, 1671, and was succeeded by his uncle, Lord John Seymour, fourth Duke of Somerset, who died April 20, 1675, without issue. His wife, Sarah, daughter of Sir Edward Alston, President of the College of Physicians, who survived him till the 25th of October 1692, by her will settled in the strictest form the manors of Powsey and Titcombe-cum-Oxenwood, and Harding farm, in Wiltshire, on the successive Dukes of Somerset, descendants of Edward Seymour, the first Duke. Her husband was succeeded by his cousin, Francis, third Baron Seymour, of Troubridge, grandson of Sir Francis Seymour, brother of William Seymour, second Duke of Somerset; who, as we have mentioned, was also raised to the peerage by Charles I. in 1641. This first Lord Seymour, of Troubridge, was constituted Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster June 1, 1660, and died July 12, 1664, leaving by his first wife, Frances, daughter and coheiress of Sir Gilbert Prinne, of Allington, Wilts, a son, Charles, second Lord Seymour, of Troubridge, who died August 25, 1665, leaving by his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of William, Lord Allington, two sons, who became successively Dukes of Somerset. The elder brother, Francis, fifth Duke of Somerset, while travelling in Italy, three years after his accession to the Dukedom, happening to make the acquaintance of some French gentlemen and accompanying them into the Church of the Augustinians in Lerice, in the Genoese territories, some ladies in the church were insulted, it is said by the Frenchmen, and not by the Duke, whereupon the husband of one of them, Horatio Botti, laid wait for the party, and on April 20, 1678, shot the Duke dead

at the door of his inn. The assassin escaped, though the Republic of Genoa, on the demand of the Duke's maternal uncle, offered a reward for his apprehension and hung him in effigy.

The Duke was succeeded by his brother, Charles, sixth Duke of Somerset, commonly called "the proud Duke of Somerset," on account of his magnificent style of living and his haughtiness. He married (May 30, 1682)—as we have already had occasion to mention in our account of the Percies—Lady Elizabeth, the heiress of Josceline Percy, last Earl of Northumberland of that family. According to the marriage articles the Duke was to take the name of Percy instead of Seymour, but soon after she came of age the Duchess released him from this obligation. "He was," says Macaulay, "a man in whom the pride of birth and rank amounted almost to a disease," and many anecdotes are told of the ridiculous manner in which he exhibited his failing. He was made a Knight of the Garter April 8, 1684, and in the reign of James II. was made a Lord of the Bedchamber. He raised the militia of Somersetshire against the Duke of Monmouth, and had the command given him of a regiment of dragoons raised after that insurrection. "He had not scrupled to carry the Sword of State into the Royal [Catholic] chapel on days of festival," but when, in July 1687, the King ordered him to introduce the Pope's Nuncio to his audience at Windsor, Somerset positively refused. Some of his family implored him not to draw down on himself the royal displeasure, and the King himself expostulated with him—"I thought, my Lord, that I was doing you a great honour in appointing you to

escort the Minister of the first of all crowned heads." "Sir," replied the Duke, "I am advised that I cannot obey your Majesty without breaking the law." "I will make you fear me as well as the law," exclaimed the King; "do you not know that I am above the law?" "Your Majesty may be above the law," rejoined the Duke, "but I am not, and while I obey the law I fear nothing." On this Somerset was dismissed from his posts in the Household and the army, and a few months afterwards removed from his Lord-Lieutenancy of the East Riding of Yorkshire. On the other hand, he was in 1688 elected Chancellor by the University of Cambridge. When the Prince of Orange landed the Duke joined his enterprise, though on its success he voted for the Regency scheme. Still he carried the Queen's sword at the coronation of William and Mary, and entertained William at his house at Marlborough—afterwards a celebrated inn, and now a collegiate school—during his progress after his return from Ireland. He became President of the Council, June 28, 1701, and in the same year a Lord of Regency during the King's absence. On Queen Anne's accession he was sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed Master of the Horse, July 3, 1702, and in 1708 one of the Commissioners for the Union. The Duchess also, on January 16, 1711, was appointed "Groom of the Stole," and First Lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen. But on January 17, 1712, the Duke was dismissed from his Mastership of the Horse. His political course had not been a very consistent one, except on the question of the Protestant religion. Starting as a Tory, he had afterwards associated himself with the Whigs,

but thinking himself not sufficiently consulted by them, he had abandoned them in his overweening pride (his wife also being in high favour with the Queen), and joined Harley's party. But in 1711, differing from the new Tory Ministry on the point of dissolving Parliament, and being overruled in his opinion, he became sullen and unmanageable, and at last discontinued his attendance at the Council Board, began to associate again with his old Whig friends, and was accused of imparting to them the counsels of the Government, especially the secret negotiations for peace, and was, as we have said, dismissed from office. He reappeared uninvited and unexpected at the Council Board on July 30, 1714, when the Queen was dying, and aided Shrewsbury and Argyll to disconcert and overthrow the Jacobite schemes of Bolingbroke. His name stood second on the list of noblemen added by King George to the great officers of State as guardians of the kingdom before his arrival. He was sworn of the new Privy Council, and on September 27 restored to his office of Master of the Horse, but he only held this office for a year. His second daughter, Lady Catherine Seymour, had married, in July 1708, Sir William Wyndham, Bart., of Orchard-Wyndham, Somerset, and this alliance produced a new change in Somerset's political connections. Sir William had engaged in the Jacobite conspiracy of 1715, and was seized at his seat while asleep in bed. He managed to escape again by pretending to go into an inner room to take leave of his wife, who was with child; but a proclamation being issued, offering a reward of £1000 for his discovery, and a clue obtained to his place of concealment, he thought it better to surrender, and

"coming up to London put himself into the hands of Lord Hertford, his brother-in-law, who sent notice of it to Stanhope. The matter was then laid before the Privy Council, the King himself being present, and the Duke of Somerset offered to be responsible for the conduct of his son-in-law. It was no light matter," observes Lord Stanhope, in his history, "to refuse and offend the first Protestant peer of the country, a firm friend of the Hanover succession, a powerful leader of the Whig party. But Lord Townshend considered the proofs against Wyndham so strong, and the necessity for his arrest so urgent, that he resolutely made a motion for that object. A long pause ensued. During nearly ten minutes no other member ventured to support him, until at length two or three rose together to second the motion. It was carried, and as the King withdrew into his closet he took Lord Townshend's hand, and said, 'You have done me a great service to-day.' Somerset, who expressed his resentment warmly and intemperately, was removed from his office of Master of the Horse—the first appearance of a schism in the Whig Administration." Somerset never again held any office at Court, but for some years before his death retired altogether from political affairs to his seat at Petworth, where he died December 2, 1748. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Algernon, seventh Duke of Somerset, who on the death of his mother, in 1722, had succeeded to the baronies of Percy, Lucy, Poynings, Fitz-Payne, Bryan, and Latimer, and took his seat in the House of Peers, having previously represented Marlborough and the county of Northumberland in the House of Commons. In 1706 he was constituted

Lord-Lieutenant of Sussex, and in 1708 made the campaign in Flanders as a volunteer, being present at the battle of Oudenarde and the taking of Lille, Marlborough sending him home with the news of these successes, when, according to the Gazette, he "was received by the Queen with great distinction." In 1709 he served again as a volunteer at the taking of Tournay, the battle of Malplaquet, and the capture of Mons, which concluded that campaign. On this he was made Colonel of the 15th Regiment of Foot, and served in every campaign in the Netherlands down to the Peace of Utrecht, 1713, when he was appointed Governor of Tynemouth Castle and Clifford Fort. In the first year of George I. he was appointed Colonel and Captain of the second troop of Horse Guards, and a Lord of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales. In 1726 he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Wilts, in 1727 Brigadier-General, and in 1735 Major-General of the Horse. On September 26, 1737, he was appointed Governor of Minorca, and July 2, 1739, Lieutenant-General of the Horse. On May 6, 1740, he was made Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards; and March 13, 1742, Governor of Guernsey. On March 24, 1747, he was constituted General of the Horse. By his wife, Frances Thynne, granddaughter of the first Viscount Weymouth, he had a son, George, Viscount Beauchamp, who died on his travels of smallpox, September 11, 1744, on his nineteenth birthday, and a daughter, Lady Elizabeth, who married Sir Hugh Smithson, Bart. We have spoken in our account of the Percies of the new creations and limitations of peerages made a few years after the death of the Duke's eldest son—viz.,

the Earldom of Northumberland, with remainder to his son-in-law, and the Earldom of Egremont, with remainder to his nephews, the sons of his sister, Lady Wyndham. The Duke, who was President of the Society of Antiquaries, died February 7, 1750. By his death without male issue the male line of the younger family of Edward Seymour, the first Duke of Somerset, became extinct, and the Dukedom (in accordance with the patent of creation) devolved on the descendant of the elder branch, which had been postponed to the younger. This was Sir Edward Seymour, Baronet.

Edward Seymour, the second son of the first Duke of Somerset by his *first* marriage, to whom his elder brother John left his property, had for his residence the manor and castle of BERRY-POMEROY, in Devonshire, the seat of the Pomeroy or Pomerai family from the Conquest to the reign of Edward VI., when Sir Thomas Pomeroy sold the estate to the Protector Somerset. Edward Somerset was with his father at the battle of Musselburgh, in Scotland, and was knighted after it. In the 7th of Edward VI. he obtained an Act of Parliament restoring him in blood, so as to enable him to take any lands that might thereafter come to him. On September 6 in the same year he had a grant of the lordships and manors of Walton, Shedder, and Stowey, the park of Stowey and the hundred of Water-Stock, Somerset, which had belonged to his father—the first provision made for him since his father's death. He was Sheriff of Devonshire in the 25th Elizabeth, but in other respects lived a retired life, and died May 6, 1593, seised of the castle and manor of Berry, and Berry-Pomeroy, and Bridge-

town, in Pomeroy, with the advowson of the church of Berry, the castle and manor of Totnes, the manors of Totnes, Cornworthy, Lodeswell, Huise, Monnockenzeale, *alias* Zeale-Monacon, and Losebear, the fourth part of the hundred of Hayborre, the site of the monastery of Torr, and divers other lands in Devonshire, the manor and lordship of MAIDEN-BRADLEY, in Wiltshire, besides a capital messuage, called the Lord Cheyne's House, in Blackfriars, near Ludgate, in London. By his wife Mary, daughter and heiress of John Walsh, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, he left a son and heir, Edward, who was chosen one of the Knights for Devonshire, in two Parliaments of Elizabeth and the 1st of James I. That King made him a baronet June 29, 1611, and he died April 11, 1613. He was succeeded by his son Edward, who was knighted May 22, 1603, and sent on an embassy to Denmark. He was a Knight of the Shire for Devon in two Parliaments of the reign of James I., and a burgess for Kellington and Totnes in two other Parliaments,—the last in 1625, at the beginning of the reign of Charles I. But on its dissolution he retired to Berry-Pomeroy, which he had made "a very stately house" by additions costing, according to Mr Price, upwards of £20,000. He lived to an old age, and died in 1659, being distinguished for his obliging temper and prudent management. His son and successor, Sir Edward, represented Devonshire in the Parliaments of April and November 1640, and, espousing the Royalist side, attended the summons of the King to Oxford in January 1644, and was expelled from the Parliament at Westminster in the same year. He shared the ordinary fortunes of the Cavaliers, and

Berry-Pomeroy Castle was reduced to a ruin in the Civil Wars; but after the Restoration he became Vice-Admiral of Devon, and an M.P. in all the Parliaments of the reigns of Charles II. and James II. He continued all his life a determined Cavalier, and died in the latter part of 1688. He had married a daughter of Sir William Portman, and his fifth son by her, Henry Seymour, succeeded eventually to the Portman property, and assumed that name, but dying without issue, the property went to another relation by marriage of that family, one of the Berkeleys of Pylle. Sir Edward's eldest son, also Sir Edward, played a conspicuous part in the reigns of Charles II. and his successors as leader of the Protestant Tories in the House of Commons. In 1667 he was the first to move the impeachment of the Earl of Clarendon. On June 6 in the same year he had a grant of the office of Clerk of the Hanaper for life, and on February 15, 1673, was unanimously chosen Speaker of the Commons. "He was," says Macaulay, "one of the most skilful debaters and men of business in the kingdom. He had studied all the rules and usages of the House of Commons, and thoroughly understood its peculiar temper. He was elected Speaker under circumstances which made that distinction peculiarly honourable. During several generations none but lawyers had been called to the chair, and he was the first country gentleman whose abilities and acquirements enabled him to break that long prescription." On April 9, 1673, he was sworn of the Privy Council, and soon after made Treasurer of the Navy. He was re-elected Speaker on March 6, 1679, but the King refused his approbation, "his haughty and uncompromising tem-

per having given such disgust." An ardent Tory, he was attacked by the Whigs in their hour of triumph, and on November 20, 1680, they carried a vote of impeachment against him, and a motion was made to address the King to remove him from his counsels for ever. But this was dropped, and no articles were exhibited against him. He strongly opposed the Exclusion Bill, but was a strenuous promoter of the Habeas Corpus Act. He was at the head of a strong Parliamentary connection called the Western Alliance, and which included many gentlemen of Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Cornwall. "Weight of moral character," says Macaulay, "was wanting to him. He was licentious, profane, corrupt; too proud to behave with common politeness, but not too proud to pocket illicit gain." At the commencement of the reign of James II. he made, on the 22d of April 1685, a remarkable speech, which created a great sensation. He was "in bad humour with the Court," because "his interest had been weakened in some places by the remodelling of the Western boroughs, and his pride had been wounded by the election of Trevor to the chair." "How he stood," continues the historian, "looking like what he was, the chief of a dissolute and high-spirited gentry, with the artificial ringlets clustering in fashionable profusion round his shoulders, and a mingled expression of voluptuousness and disdain in his eye and on his lip, the likenesses of him which still remain enable us to imagine." He denounced the proceedings of the Court in unmeasured terms, declared that the "Test Act, the rampart of religion, and the Habeas Corpus Act, the rampart of liberty, were marked out for destruction," but first demanded an inquiry whether they

really were a legislature, and concluded by moving that before any supply was granted the House would take into consideration petitions against returns, and that no member whose right to sit was disputed should be allowed to vote. No one else would have dared to use such language, and no one ventured to second the motion, though many approved of it, and its effects everywhere were very great. He afterwards opposed the King's proposed augmentation of the army, suggesting instead a remodelling of the militia. At the Revolution he joined the Prince of Orange at Exeter, and "at his first audience he is said to have exhibited his characteristic pride in a way which surprised and amused the Prince. 'I think, Sir Edward,' said William, meaning to be very civil, 'that you are of the family of the Duke of Somerset.' 'Pardon me, sir,' said Sir Edward, who never forgot that he was the head of the elder branch of the Seymours, 'the Duke of Somerset is of my family.'" But he brought experience and skill to the cause. He said the Prince's party was as yet a rope of sand, sent for Burnet, and suggested an "association" as a bond, which course was adopted with great success. On William's victory Seymour exhibited his old Cavalier principles by moving an address to the King to arrest General Ludlow, the regicide, who had ventured back to England, and he opposed the Bill converting the Convocation into a legal Parliament, being then answered by two old Puritans, Maynard and Birch. He supported the Regency scheme, but he took the oaths of allegiance to William, though with no good grace, and continued to hold very irreverent language respecting him down to March 1692, when

he accepted office, was sworn of the Privy Council, and made one of the Lords of the Treasury, to the great indignation of the Tory country gentlemen. Here, again, however, Sir Edward's pride took fire. He refused to sit below the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Richard Hampden,—a commoner,—though he was willing to sit below the first lord, Lord Godolphin, a peer. But William succeeded in soothing him, among other means by presenting him to the Queen as "a gentleman who would in his absence be a valuable friend," and making him one of the Cabinet, and he consented to waive the point; but he so far preserved his old Tory principles as to oppose the Triennial Bill. He had been accused of leaving a large balance against him as Treasurer of the Navy. As Lord of the Treasury, in 1693, he accepted some thousands of pounds from the East India Company as a bribe for the renewal of their charter. In 1694, when the Whigs were being reintroduced into the Ministry, Seymour was dismissed from the Treasury to make room for one of them. In 1695, when the disclosures were made respecting the bribes, it was found that Seymour had so skilfully disguised his dealings under a contract for saltpetre that no vote of censure was able to be passed on him, and the Tory gentlemen were more than half induced to believe in his innocence; but he lost a great deal of his influence in the House and the West of England. At the general election of 1695 he was defeated at Exeter, and took refuge in his family borough of Totnes. He spoke against the association for the defence of William's life, and against the attainder of Sir John Fenwick. At the election of 1698 he was returned in his absence for Exeter by a large majority. He

hoped to have been proposed for Speaker, and made an extravagantly violent speech when another member was proposed instead. In 1699 his eldest son by his second marriage, Popham Conway-Seymour, who was in the twenty-fourth year of his age, and who, having a separate estate of seven thousand a-year left him by his cousin, the last Earl Conway, had obtained by his extravagant foppery the name of "Beau Seymour," quarrelled with a young officer of the Blues of the name of Kirke, and died of the effects of a wound in the neck, rendered mortal by his subsequent excesses. Not satisfied with prosecuting Kirke through counsel in the King's Bench, Sir Edward went down to the Court himself, and delivered a violent harangue against standing armies. Kirke was found guilty of manslaughter only, and Seymour was unable to obtain an appeal from the verdict. He continued to make violent speeches in the House—amongst others against Somers—during the rest of the reign of William. On the accession of Queen Anne, Sir Edward, on March 14, 1702; was appointed Comptroller of the Household, sworn of the Privy Council, and offered a peerage, but he only accepted the Barony of Conway for Francis, his eldest surviving son by his second wife. He was dismissed from his office in 1704, and died February 17, 1708, at Maiden-Bradley, whither he had retired from public life. He was twice married, first to Margaret, daughter and coheiress of Sir William Wale, an Alderman of London, and secondly to Letitia, daughter of Francis Popham, of Littlecote, Wiltshire. His second son by her, Francis, is the ancestor of the present Marquess of Hertford. His eldest son by his first marriage, Edward, succeeded him in the baronetcy,

Maiden-Bradley (their chief seat), and the principal family estates. He served for some little time in Parliament, but afterwards retired to a country life at Maiden-Bradley, where he died, aged eighty, December 29, 1741. Like his father, he had married a Popham, of Littlecote, and his second son, Francis, followed their example.

His eldest son, Edward, who had been member for Salisbury, succeeded his cousin as eighth Duke of Somerset. He had a grant of the offices of Warden and Chief Justice in Eyre of the Forests, &c., beyond Trent, was made Lord-Lieutenant of Wiltshire, and died December 12, 1757. He married Mary, daughter and heiress of Daniel Webb, Esq., of Monkton Farley, in Wiltshire, and niece and heiress of Edward Somner, Esq., of Seemd, in the same county. The Webb estate descended to the Duke's second son, Lord Webb Seymour. Edward, his eldest son, succeeded him as ninth Duke. He was of the Privy Council of George III., and died unmarried January 2, 1792. For some years before his death at the age of eighty-four, he shut himself up entirely at his house at Maiden-Bradley, never visiting any one, and living in such dread of the smallpox that he never touched a letter, but made a servant open it and hold it up to a glass window, through which he read it. He greatly improved the amount of his property by his parsimony. Dying unmarried, he was succeeded by his next brother, Lord Webb Seymour, tenth Duke of Somerset, who only survived till December 15, 1793, when he was succeeded by his eldest surviving son (by his wife Anne, daughter and heiress of John Bonnel, Esq., of Stanton-Harcourt, Oxfordshire), Edward Adolphus,

eleventh Duke, who married a daughter of the Duke of Hamilton, and died August 15, 1855. He was a Knight of the Garter, but chiefly known for his scientific and mathematical pursuits. He was succeeded by his son, Edward Adolphus, twelfth and present Duke of Somerset, and First Lord of the Admiralty, a distinguished member of the Whig party, to which this elder branch of the Seymours, since their accession to the dukedom, has generally adhered. He is a man of considerable abilities and an iron will, and is an excellent man of business. His eldest son, Edward Adolphus Ferdinand, has been called to the Upper House in his father's barony of Seymour, and is known as a volunteer in Garibaldi's Neapolitan campaign. The family have assumed the spelling "St Maur" (with doubtful taste), instead of the historic "Seymour." They should leave those Norman imitations to the *nouveaux riches.*

Before concluding our account of the Seymours, we must say a few words on the branch represented by the present Marquess of Hertford. Edward Conway, third Viscount and first Earl Conway, by his last will, dated August 9, 1683, devised all his possessions in England and Ireland to the sons of his cousin, Sir Edward Seymour, by his second marriage, and to their heirs male in succession, with remainder to his own right heirs. In accordance with this will his cousin Popham Seymour succeeded to the estates, of which the chief seat in England was RAGLEY, in Warwickshire, assuming the name of Seymour-Conway. He was killed, as we have seen, in a duel, June 4, 1699, when he was succeeded by his next brother, Francis, who also took the name of Seymour-Conway.

Queen Anne, as we have seen, created him (March 17, 1703) Baron Conway of Ragley, and on October 16, 1712, Baron Conway and Killultagh, county Antrim, in Ireland, in which county he possessed a great estate, part of the inheritance of Earl Conway. On October 17, 1727, he was sworn of the Irish Privy Council, and in August 1728 appointed Governor of Carrickfergus. By his third wife, Charlotte, daughter of Sir John Thornton, Lord Mayor of London in 1688, and sister of Sir Robert Walpole's wife, he had four sons, the eldest of whom, Francis, succeeded him in his honours. The second, Henry, became well known as General Conway, both in the Continental wars and in the administrations and politics of England. He was Groom of the Bedchamber to George II. and to George III. till April 1764, and joint Secretary with the Duke of Grafton in the Rockingham Administration. On March 30, 1782, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief, and held this post till December 1783. The Duke of Devonshire left him in October 1764 a legacy of £5000, as an expression of approval of his conduct in Parliament. He died at his seat (Park Place) in Oxfordshire, July 9, 1795, aged seventy-five. He was a man of considerable abilities and high political character, fond of literature, and a poetaster. His elder brother, Francis, was on August 3, 1750, created Viscount Beauchamp and Earl of Hertford. In 1751 he was one of the Lords of the Bedchamber; in 1757 was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Warwickshire, and made a Knight of the Garter. In June 1763 he was sworn of the Privy Council, and sent Ambassador Extraordinary to France. On August 1, 1765, he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and Master of

the Horse; on December 4, 1766, Lord Chamberlain, and again, April 12, 1783, and resigned on the 26th of December following. He was also Recorder of Coventry and Thetford. On June 29, 1793, he was created Earl of Yarmouth and Marquess of Hertford (having gone over to Pitt along with the Portland Whigs), and died June 14, 1794, aged seventy-five. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Francis, second Marquess of Hertford, who was in the House of Commons from 1766 till his father's death; was appointed in 1774 a Lord of the Treasury, and held this office till 1780. In 1804 he was appointed Master of the Horse, but resigned in 1806, on the accession of the Grenville-Fox Ministry. He died June 17, 1822. Having married for his second wife the Honourable Isabella Anne Ingram, daughter and coheiress of Charles, Viscount Irvine, in Scotland, he assumed in 1807, by royal licence, the name of Ingram before those of Seymour-Conway. He was succeeded by his son, Francis Charles Seymour-Conway, third Marquess of Hertford, born March 11, 1777. He entered at Christ Church, Oxford, but took his degree as a member of St Mary's Hall. Immediately on attaining his majority he was returned to the House of Commons for Orford, in Suffolk. From 1802 to 1812, under the title of Earl of Yarmouth, he sat for Lisburn; from 1812 to 1820, for the county of Antrim; and from the latter date to his father's death for the borough of Camelford. At an early age he became a leader of fashionable society, and formed the friendship of the Prince of Wales, though retaining his Tory principles. He was at Paris when the peace of Amiens was broken off, and was seized by Buonaparte, who

kept him for more than three years in confinement in the fortress of Verdun. But when the Whigs came into office in 1806, the Prince of Wales requested Mr Fox to apply through Talleyrand for the Earl's release. The French Government thought the application indicated that Lord Yarmouth was a personal favourite of Fox's, and he was not only released, but intrusted with a *verbal* communication to the English Minister of the terms on which Buonaparte was disposed to treat for peace. The basis was accepted by Fox, and Lord Yarmouth returned to Paris with powers to conclude a treaty; Buonaparte, however, had meanwhile obtained hopes of making better terms with Russia, and raised his demands with England. The Earl of Lauderdale was sent as a colleague to Lord Yarmouth, to add weight to the English diplomacy, but ultimately the negotiations both with England and Russia came to nothing. In September 1809 Lord Yarmouth acted as second to his cousin, Lord Castlereagh, in his duel with Mr Canning. In 1810, he succeeded to the greatest part of the disposable property of the old Duke of Queensberry, whose putative daughter he had married. The Duke left to Lord Yarmouth for his life and that of Lady Yarmouth, and then to descend to their issue male, £150,000, his two houses in Piccadilly, and his villa at Richmond, with all their furniture. Lord Yarmouth was also named residuary legatee, and it was estimated at the time that he would eventually obtain £200,000 additional from that source. In the Regency discussions of 1811 Lord Yarmouth supported the proposal which placed the fuller power in the Prince of Wales, and in the new appointments which followed became Vice-

Chamberlain, his father being made Lord Chamberlain. Their removal from these offices, demanded and refused, was the ostensible cause of the failure of the attempt to introduce Lords Grey and Grenville into the Cabinet on the death of Mr Perceval. In August 1812 Lord Yarmouth exchanged his office of Vice-Chamberlain for the more lucrative one of Lord Warden of the Stannaries, and was sworn of the Privy Council. He acted as escort to the Emperor Alexander when the allied Sovereigns visited England in 1814, and was made a Knight of the Garter, November 22, 1822. He was Recorder of Bodmin, and in September 1824 became Recorder of Coventry, but resigned both posts in 1832, on the prospect of municipal reform. In 1827 he was sent to convey the Garter to the Emperor Nicholas, and astonished St Petersburg by his magnificence. He supported throughout the Wellington Cabinet, and was offered a great Household appointment on the accession of William IV., but declined it on account of his health. He had suffered much from the gout, and spent his winters at the baths of Aix and Naples, but returned in the spring to London, and gave the most splendid entertainments at his villa in the Regent's Park, which he had fitted up in an extraordinary style. He died at his town residence, Dorchester House, Park Lane, on March 1, 1842, aged sixty-five. In him culminated the dissipation of the Regency period, and probably his open excesses equal, if they do not go beyond, those of any English nobleman on record. He is said, however, to have been a man of real ability, to have been well read in old and modern literature, and to have been remarkable for his sagacious judg-

ment. He has been also praised for generosity and constancy in his friendships. By his wife, Maria Fagniani, he left a daughter and two sons, the elder of whom, Richard Seymour-Conway, succeeded him in his titles. His will was a most extraordinary document, and entailed a lawsuit, in which his confidential valet and his mistresses figured in a manner little conducive to the reputation of the Marquess. His successor, the present and fourth Marquess, is unmarried, and resides at Paris. He is chiefly known in England for his collection of paintings; and, if he dies without heirs, will be succeeded by Sir George Francis Seymour, eldest son of Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour, fifth son of the first Marquess, and the Admiral lately commanding on the American station. Sir George Hamilton Seymour, the eminent diplomatist — who will be known to posterity from his celebrated conversation with the Emperor Nicholas of Russia before the Crimean war on the "sick man" (viz., Turkey)—is also a cousin of the Marquess of Hertford, being the eldest son of Lord George Seymour, seventh son of the first Marquess.

The Seymours are aristocrats of the ideal type—men on the one hand besotted with the pride of birth, absolutely devoted to their own wills, whether for evil or for good, but on the other ready to sacrifice all for the greatness and welfare of the State. They have done great services and have been nobly paid, and their greatest act was one none but an aristocrat would have dared. But for the Duke of Somerset (acting with Shrewsbury and Argyll) the Council which met upon Anne's death might, and probably would, have recalled the Stuarts; but no man

not at once Duke and Seymour, if unconnected with the Cabinet, would have pushed uninvited into a Cabinet Council, and compelled the members to make instant choice between their safety and their predilections. This act of impudent patriotism saved the Protestant succession, and those who grudge the pride of the Seymours may remember with advantage the incident in which it was most conspicuously shown.

The Lennoxes.

NOTHER of Charles II.'s offspring. The Lennoxes are descended from a natural son of the "Merry Monarch" and Louise Renée de Penencourt, of Querouaille, in Brittany. She had been noticed by Charles when attending his sister Henrietta of Orleans, and Buckingham, perceiving the impression she had made, pointed out to the French Court the advisability of giving Charles a mistress devoted to French interests. It was accordingly arranged that the lady should travel to Dieppe with the Duke's equipage, and he would there join her, and accompany her to England. But the volatile voluptuary forgot or did not condescend to fulfil the latter part of the arrangement, but went to England by way of Calais; and she was indebted to Montagu, the Ambassador at Paris, for the means of conveyance across the Channel. Of course Buckingham thus secured in her an enemy instead of a friend. The King was greatly taken with her, and she ruled over him for the rest of his life, dividing her empire, but very unequally, with Nell Gwynne, the latter being considered as the Protestant and English mistress, the Duchess as the Catholic and French. Nell

revenged herself for the superior power of her rival by her witty but coarse sarcasms on her, and the quarrels of the two ladies were satirised by the wits of the day in a pretended dialogue between their respective dogs, in which Nell's is made the victor, but with the reproach of using bad language. Mademoiselle de Querouaille's only son by the King was born July 29, 1672, and received the name of Charles, with the surname of Lennox, the title of the younger branch of the Stuart family, which had then (1672) just become extinct. The King seems to have resolved to substitute the family of this natural son for the extinct Stuarts of Lennox in all respects. For, having created the mother, on August 19, 1673, Baroness of Petersfield, Countess of Farnham, and Duchess of Portsmouth for life, he prevailed on Louis XIV. in the month of December in the same year to make a grant to her of the territory of Aubigny-upon-Nere, in the province of Berry, during her life, with remainder to such of the King of Great Britain's natural sons by her as he should name, under the same limitation as the grant by Charles VII. of France on March 24, 1422, to John Stuart, Lord Darnley, ancestor of the extinct Dukes of Richmond and of King Charles II. himself, for services against the English in France. On August 9, 1675, his father created Charles Lennox Baron Setrington (Yorkshire), Earl of March (from the Marches in Wales), and Duke of Richmond, in Yorkshire, with a grant of the site of the Castle of Richmond. He also bestowed on him the estate of Lennox, in Scotland, and on September 9, 1675, created him Duke of Lennox, Earl of Darnley, and Baron Methven, of Torbolton, in Scotland;

and in January 1684 the French King erected Aubigny into a duchy and peerage of France, to be enjoyed by the Duchess of Portsmouth during her life, and after her death by her son the Duke of Richmond, and the heirs male of his body, under the title of Dukes of Aubigny and Peers of France. On April 7, 1681, the young Duke was made a Knight of the Garter; and his mother having introduced him to the King with the blue ribbon over his left shoulder, and the George appendant on the right side, instead of the usual fashion of the ribbon round the neck and the George appendant on the breast, the King ordered the fashion to be changed in all Knights of the Order thenceforth accordingly. He was made Master of the Horse on the removal of the Duke of Monmouth; but his mother supporting the Exclusion Bill, the Duke was dismissed from this office on the accession of James II. He was too young at the Revolution to take any prominent part, but acquiesced in the change, and on November 14, 1693, took his seat in the House of Lords. He served in Flanders with King William as his aide-de-camp, opposed (naturally enough) the Resumption Bill in 1700, and was one of the Lords of the Bedchamber to George I., being a Hanoverian Whig, but a man of no political eminence. He died May 27, 1723, at his seat of Goodwood, in the parish of Boxgrove, Sussex, which he had purchased in 1720 from the Compton family. He pulled down the old Gothic house and built another, on the scale of a hunting-seat or occasional residence, which was enlarged to its present dimensions by the third Duke.

He was succeeded by his only son, Charles, second

Duke of Richmond and Lennox, who had sat during his father's lifetime in the House of Commons for the boroughs of Chichester and Newport. He was a Lord of the Bedchamber and aide-de-camp to George I. and George II., acting as High Constable of England at the coronation of the latter Prince. His grandmother, the Duchess of Portsmouth—who, after her lover's death, had retired to France, where she long outlived her beauty, but not her ambition or her desire to regain some of her old political influence in England, where her name was entirely forgotten—died November 14, 1734, when the second Duke of Richmond became also Duke of Aubigny. He was a soldier, fought at Dettingen, and accompanied the Duke of Cumberland to Scotland, but he never attained distinction, and died August 8, 1750. He was described by Horace Walpole as the only man in the world who ever loved the Duke of Newcastle. His marriage to his wife, Lady Sarah Cadogan, daughter of Marlborough's favourite general, William, Earl Cadogan, was a romantic affair. "Their union was a bargain to cancel a gambling debt between the parents, and the young Lord March was brought from college, the lady from the nursery, for the ceremony. The bride was amazed and silent, but the bridegroom exclamed, 'Surely you are not going to marry me to that dowdy?' Married he was, however, and his tutor instantly carried him off to the Continent. Lady Sarah went back to her mother. Three years afterwards Lord March returned from his travels an accomplished gentleman, but having such a disagreeable recollection of his wife that he avoided home, and repaired on the first night of his arrival to the theatre.

There he saw a lady of so fine an appearance that he asked who she was. 'The reigning toast, the beautiful Lady March.' He hastened to claim her, and they lived together so affectionately, that one year after his decease [August 25, 1751] she died of grief." Thus writes her grandson.

The Duke of Richmond had by this lady twelve children, the seventh of whom, Charles, succeeded him in his titles. Three of the daughters deserve special notice. The eldest (and eldest child), Lady Georgina Caroline Lennox, born March 27, 1723, made a runaway match in May 1744, with Mr Henry Fox (afterwards Lord Holland), and her second surviving son by him was the celebrated statesman Charles James Fox. She was herself created Baroness Holland in 1762. The Duke's sixth child and second daughter who lived to maturity, Lady Emilia Lennox, married James, Earl of Kildare, afterwards Duke of Leinster, and became the mother of the unfortunate Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the "Irish Rebel." The Duke of Richmond's eleventh child and seventh daughter, Lady Sarah Lennox, born February 14, 1745, inherited her mother's beauty to a considerable extent, and engaged the affections of George III. in his early years. "It was observed in the spring of 1761 that the King used almost every morning to ride along the Kensington Road, while Lady Sarah, fancifully attired as a shepherdess, used to stand close by, on the lawn of Holland House, making hay." The young King is even said (by her son) to have made Lady Sarah an offer, to have been at first refused, but afterwards (on the urgent solicitation of her brother-in-law, Fox) accepted. Be this as it may, the King afterwards

gave up the match, doubtless on his mother's advice, and Lady Sarah acted as one of the bridesmaids to the new Queen. She married in 1762 Sir Thomas Charles Bunbury, Baronet, from whom she was divorced by Act of Parliament, May 14, 1776, and remarried, August 17, the Hon. George Napier, sixth son of the fifth Lord Napier. Her eldest son by the second marriage was the conqueror of Scinde—General Sir Charles James Napier,—and her third son General Sir William Napier, the historian of the Peninsular War.

Charles, eldest surviving son, who succeeded his father as third Duke of Richmond, and who was born February 22, 1735, played a more conspicuous part in politics than his predecessors. He had made choice of a military life, and rose through the successive grades to the rank of full general February 19, 1783, and of field-marshal, July 30, 1796, and had the command of several regiments besides that of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards; but he did not engage in active service. On October 18, 1763, he was declared Lord-Lieutenant of Sussex, and on the accession of George III. appointed one of the Lords of the Bedchamber, but soon after resigned. In 1765 he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to France, and on October 23 in the same year was sworn of the Privy Council. On May 23, 1766, he was appointed one of the Secretaries of State in the first Rockingham Ministry, in place of the Duke of Grafton. The Duke was at this time a recognised member of the Rockingham connection. But the Ministry was tottering when he joined it, and on August 2 following, the Duke resigned with Lord Rockingham, to make way for the

first Pitt's second Ministry. He at first assailed the new Premier—now made Lord Chatham—in no measured terms; but the course of events soon threw them again into co-operation against the Grafton-North Ministry. The Duke still adhered, however, to the Rockingham section of the Whigs, despairing of retaining the American colonies, and differing from Lord Chatham, who would not consent to the idea of their separation from England. Accordingly he lent his support, though in a sarcastic manner, to Lord North's conciliatory and repealing bills, ridiculing, however, the choice of the elegant Lord Carlisle to go on a mission of conciliation to the "men in woollen nightcaps" of the American Congress. In the same year (1778) he gave notice of a motion on the 7th of April in the House of Lords for an address entreating the King instantly to withdraw his fleets and armies from the thirteen revolted provinces, and to make peace with them on such terms as might secure their goodwill. This was the celebrated occasion on which Lord Chatham made his last speech in Parliament. The Duke replied to him, expressing great respect for his talents and character. "The name of Chatham will ever be dear to Englishmen," he said; "but while I grant this, I am convinced that the name of Chatham is not able to perform impossibilities." Chatham stood up again, but, as is well known, fell down in a fit, was removed insensible from the House, and died on the 11th of May following. The Duke appeared less creditably in the House on a subsequent occasion, on June 14, 1779. He had all the overweening pride of the most exclusive aristocrat, combined with political principles of a very democratic cast, and he had the

bad taste, and it proved the ill-luck, to sneer at the new Chancellor Lord Thurlow's lowness of birth. Thurlow, fixing on the Duke a look of the most lofty contempt, retaliated in the following bitter and crushing words :—"I am amazed at the attack the noble Duke has made on me. Yes, my Lords"—raising his voice to its loudest tones—"I am amazed at his Grace's speech. The noble Duke cannot look before him, behind him, or on either side of him, without seeing some noble Peer who owes his seat in this House to successful exertions in the profession to which I belong. Does he not feel that it is as honourable to owe it to these as to being *the accident of an accident?* To all these noble Lords the language of the noble Duke is as applicable and as insulting as it is to myself, but I do not fear to meet it single and alone. No one venerates the Peerage more than I do, but, my Lords, I must say the Peerage solicited me, not I the Peerage. Nay more, I can say, and will say, that—as a Peer of Parliament,—as Speaker of this right honourable House, —as Keeper of the Great Seal,—as Guardian of His Majesty's conscience,—as Lord High Chancellor of England,—nay, even in that character alone in which the noble Duke would think it an affront to be considered, as a *man*,—I am at this moment as respectable,—I beg leave to add, I am at this moment as much respected,—as the proudest Peer *I now look down upon!*"

In the following year the Duke distinguished himself by motions for economical reform, and for annual parliaments, and universal suffrage! The latter motion came on at an unfavourable crisis,—the Lord George Gordon Anti-Popery riots. The House of Lords had

been summoned for the 2d of June (1780) to hear the Duke's motion, when the Houses of Parliament were beset by the mob, and his speech was interrupted by Lord Montfort, who rushed into the House entreating the Peers to rescue Lord Boston, who was being maltreated by the mob. Lord Boston contrived to escape while adroitly engaging the ringleaders in a discussion on Antichrist, but the debate on the Duke's motion was not resumed, and the House adjourned till the following day. When the second Rockingham Ministry was formed, in March 1782, the Duke was appointed Master-General of the Ordnance, with a seat in the Cabinet. He continued in his opinions on the necessity of Parliamentary reform, and a great meeting of friends of that cause was held at his house not long after his acceptance of office, in which it was resolved that a motion on the subject should be made in the House of Commons by the younger Pitt, which was accordingly done, and on a division lost by a majority of twenty in a house of three hundred members. It may be observed that the Duke had now a seat in the same Cabinet with Lord Thurlow! The new Cabinet soon became a scene of discord. Thurlow represented quite an alien element, dependent on the King alone, Shelburne and Fox quarrelled, and in July the death of Lord Rockingham precipitated the imminent dissolution of his Ministry. Fox put forward the Duke of Portland as the new Premier, passing over the claims of the Duke of Richmond, between whom and both Fox and Burke there had grown up a coolness, contrasting with their former warm alliance. Richmond was little likely to digest such a slight to his dignity, and he

adhered to Shelburne, retaining office under him until in April 1783 the Fox-North coalition drove the Ministry from power. He resumed his office in December, when the adventurous Pitt formed his Ministry, declining at first, but afterwards soliciting and receiving a seat in the Cabinet. From this time down to November 1795, the Duke remained a member of the Pitt Ministry, altogether laying aside his former democratic notions, and thereby incurring bitter reproaches from the advocates of liberal opinions. On the trial of Hardy for treason, the Duke was summoned as a witness by the defence to prove the handwriting of a letter of his own written in 1782, and containing very strong language in a democratic direction; and in the celebrated debates in 1792 on the Royal Proclamation, in which the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Portland's friends separated themselves from Fox's foreign policy, Lord Lauderdale fell with fury on the Duke of Richmond. "There is a camp," he cried, "to be formed at Bagshot, to overawe the people of the capital, and to stifle their efforts for reform. I declare I am glad the noble Duke is to command that camp. If apostasy can justify promotion, he is the most fit person for that command, General Arnold alone excepted." On this the Duke started up and denounced "these impertinent personalities," and thereupon Lauderdale challenged him, and was challenged by Arnold; but a duel in the former case was prevented by the interposition of friends.

But the Duke had not lost his aristocratic prejudices along with his democratic opinions. A curious proof of this occurred in 1790, on the elevation of Mr William Grenville to the Peerage to lead the Govern-

ment in that House as Home Secretary. The pride of the Duke of Richmond took fire at the double injury of the appointment of a younger son to such a position, and its being made without his being previously consulted by the Premier. He addressed from Goodwood on November 24 a long letter to Pitt, couched in such characteristic terms that we cannot illustrate his character in this point better than by a few extracts. Professing to believe that the creation was a great injury to Mr Grenville himself, since he would be the natural leader in the Commons if anything happened to Pitt himself, that contingency being alluded to in the coolest and most matter-of-fact manner, the real grievance is disclosed. "To call up a younger brother to the House of Peers for the evident purpose of giving him the lead there, is a degree of reflection on the whole House of Lords that there is no one there fit for such a situation"—the simple fact—"which will be felt, and may cause him to fail in that for which alone you place him there. If this should be the case, or by any other means a change happen, a Lord Grenville without a fortune would be in but a poor situation." Admitting, however, that this was Grenville's own concern, and that he is misled by his ambition, the Duke proceeds to admonish Pitt in the following extraordinary terms:—"It would be inconsistent with the friendship that I have upon all occasions shown you, and with the fairness I will always act with, not to say that I believe this country will not be satisfied to see you two younger brothers take the lead of the Houses of Parliament, and by yourselves govern the country. With your abilities, which without a compliment are very transcending,

you may take the lead in the House of Commons, but Mr Grenville, whose parts, however solid and useful, are certainly not upon a level with yours, cannot, as I conceive, succeed in taking the lead in the House of Lords, where something of higher rank and more fortune and dignity is required; and I do apprehend that both of you being in such situations, so nearly related, with Lord Chatham in the Admiralty, will be thought engrossing too much in one family." The Duke goes on with amusing *naïveté* to point out how unsupported Lord Grenville will be in the House of Lords, and goes over for this purpose the *dis*qualifications of all the chief Ministerialists in that House. "As to myself," he concludes, "I do not see how I can be of any use. . . . . I have said that I could be of little use; perhaps in no situation could I have been of much; but to be of any as a speaker a man must feel something for himself, and not appear to the world in an unbecoming situation. I trust I have not shown myself a difficult man when, after having had for many years a considerable share in the debates in the House of Lords, I first wished to support your Government as an individual, and afterwards defended your measures as a minister under Lord Sydney and the Duke of Leeds. But to continue to act a second part under every change, and particularly under one which is avowedly made for the sole purpose of giving the House of Lords another leader, would be depriving myself of every sort of consideration which I may hope to have in that House, and rendering myself totally useless there." And thus we arrive at the real grievance "the country" had to complain of—the non-appointment of the Duke of

Richmond to the leadership in the Lords! Then the Duke recurs to the other grievance of not having been consulted,—"I cannot but feel myself somewhat neglected by your deciding upon this measure without my consent or even knowledge;" and concludes—"If I had any political ambition I might feel disappointed and hurt at such conduct, but having none it only adds to that desire of retiring from public business which you know I have long had in view. In so doing I shall endeavour not to give it the appearance of any dissatisfaction with you, for in truth I feel none, believing, as I do, that your conduct does not proceed from any intentional want of kindness towards me, but from (you must forgive me for saying so) an idleness in your disposition, that too often makes you neglect to cultivate the friendship of those who are most attached to you, and which makes you expose your judgment to be biassed by the opinion of the narrow circle to which you confine your intimacy." Imagine *that* addressed to William Pitt by a descendant of Louise de Penencourt, and we may understand why Pitt tried to make every man of 10,000 acres a Peer, and why the house of Hanover acquired so immovable a dislike of the English aristocracy!

The Duke of Richmond did *not*, however, resign on this occasion, but put up as he best could with the leadership of "the younger brother" till November 1795, when it was thought better that he should retire in order to secure greater harmony in the Cabinet. He died December 29, 1806, leaving no children, and was succeeded in his honours and estates by his nephew, Charles, fourth Duke of Richmond, son of Lord George Henry Lennox, a general in the army, who died March

22, 1805. The fourth Duke was born in 1764, entered the army in the Coldstream Guards, and in 1814 attained general's rank, with the command of the 35th Regiment. While in the Guards he had a dispute with the Duke of York, his commanding officer, which terminated in a duel, in which the royal Duke had a narrow escape from the ball of his antagonist. On April 19, 1807, the Duke of Richmond, who had consistently supported the Tory party, was appointed Viceroy of Ireland, in which country he spent six years, where his affable manners made him personally very popular. After his recall in August 1813, he retired to Brussels with his family, the estate being a good deal encumbered. The celebrated ball given by the Duchess at Brussels, on June 15, 1815, which immediately preceded the battle of Waterloo, is part of history. On the morning of the 18th the Duke rode out to Waterloo to see his two sons, who were both on the field with staff appointments; and when the Inniskillings were on the point of advancing across the Wavre road to charge, "an individual in plain clothes on their left," says Siborne, "called out, 'Now's your time!'" This was the Duke of Richmond, who was carried away by the excitement of the moment, holding no military command on the field. In 1818 he was appointed Governor-General of Canada, but he enjoyed only a brief tenure of his honours, for he died at Montreal on August 28, 1819, of hydrophobia, from the bite of a pet fox belonging to a private in one of the garrisons, which the Duke was endeavouring to separate from a dog. The bite for some time was not thought of any importance, but gradually the symptoms of the complaint came on, and the Duke died in

terrible agonies. On September 9, 1789, he had married Charlotte, daughter of Alexander, Duke of Gordon, and was succeeded by his eldest son by her, Charles, fifth Duke, who was born August 3, 1791. This nobleman had been educated at Westminster School in company with the present Earl Russell and the late Sir James Graham, where he was remarked chiefly from his "manly determination to protect the weak, and put a stop, as far as he could, to the system of bullying" which disgraced the school. In 1810 he was gazetted to the 13th Light Dragoons, then in the Peninsula with Wellington, and served through nearly the whole Peninsular War, on Wellington's staff or with his regiment. At the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, along with the Prince of Orange and Lord Fitzroy Somerset, he entered the breach with the storming party as a volunteer, and all three were reproved for so doing the next day by Wellington, it not being their duty as staff officers. He was dangerously wounded at the battle of Orthes, being shot through the chest; but he recovered, and rejoined his chief on the day after the battle of Toulouse, and was afterwards at Waterloo. On the conclusion of peace Lord March retired from active service, and in April 1816 married Lady Caroline Paget, eldest daughter of the Marquess of Anglesey, and during his father's lifetime occupied Molecomb, a very beautiful villa within a few minutes' walk of Goodwood House. After his succession to the Dukedom, he still kept Goodwood closed till he had cleared off the encumbrances on the estate, when he reopened it, and during the rest of his life made it the scene of continued hospitality, though he managed his property so well that he left

at his death an entirely unencumbered estate. It comprises three contiguous estates, Holmaker, Goodwin, and West Hampnett, the first of these having been purchased (in 1765) by the third Duke, as was also the last. On the death of the fifth Duke of Gordon, his uncle, in 1836, without issue, the Duke of Richmond succeeded to Gordon Castle and the princely estates thereto attached, under an entail of his grandfather, Alexander, the fourth Duke of Gordon. On this he assumed the name of Gordon before his family name. In 1833 he became involved in a lawsuit connected with the Aubigny estates. The French Revolution had swept away the title and changed the law of succession, and a collateral descendant of the third Duke had claimed the property. The Duke of Richmond lost the suit; but the lawyers and Louis Philippe got the best part of the property. The Duke's political career began with the accession of George IV., for he had taken no part previously in politics, though a member of the House of Commons. He joined, of course, the Tory party; but always took rather an independent position, advocating what he considered to the advantage of the "agricultural interest." He was favourable to the claims of Protestant Dissenters, and advocated their admission to the national universities; but had a great aversion to Catholic emancipation, looking with dread on the Papal and priestly influences which would, he thought, preponderate. When Wellington and Peel abandoned their former views on this subject, in 1829, the Duke of Richmond lost all confidence in them, and gradually became their opponent on most measures, denouncing especially their indif-

ference to the degraded condition and distress of the agricultural labourers. At the beginning of the reign of William IV. he spoke of Wellington's Cabinet as "a Government of mere expediency, full of vacillating proposals, never daring to propose and support measures on their own proper grounds." On the defeat and resignation of the Wellington Cabinet at the close of the year, the Duke took office under Lord Grey, becoming Postmaster-General December 14, 1830, though still looked upon as in many respects a Tory. He of course supported the Reform Bill (declining to form a new Ministry when the King hesitated to create new Peers), and the other measures of the Grey Government, until the Irish Church question arose in 1834, when he separated from his colleagues, and resigned in the summer of that year. He did not again take office, but became a general supporter of Sir Robert Peel, except on points respecting subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles and the grievances of Dissenters, on which he maintained his former opinions. He next appeared prominently as an advocate of the Corn Laws, and the leader of the Protectionist party in the House of Lords, and continued to hold these opinions (as he did *all* his old opinions) to the end of his life, and after Protection was abandoned by every one else. He was always a strong opponent of the Game Laws, being, as he said, almost revolutionary in his feelings on this point. Although he kept a large racing stud, and made Goodwood famous on the turf, he was not a betting man; andthough a great sportsman, he had a great detestation of the wholesale slaughters called *battues*. He was an enthusiastic agriculturist, and breeder of

Southdown sheep, &c.; a great advocate of prison reform; and a high-minded, open-hearted, and most amiable English gentleman,—perhaps the best specimen of the class presented in latter times. His untiring, and at last successful, advocacy of the claims of his Peninsular fellow-soldiers to a medal, against the Duke of Wellington's somewhat ungracious opposition, exemplifies the whole tone of his character.

He died October 21, 1860, and was succeeded by his eldest son, the present and sixth Duke, Charles Gordon-Lennox, who has always been a consistent Tory, and has held office as President of the Poor-Law Board.

The character of the Lennoxes, as traceable in their history, seems simple. They are Stuarts of a more genial and manly type than the ruling line of that ill-fated race, but with a pride of birth more than usually conspicuous from the circumstances of their descent. They have *done* little for England, but they have generally *felt* as Englishmen, and have not, on the whole, been unworthy of the position to which *accident* at first raised them.

The Howards.

THE Premier Peer of England is a Howard, and a line of poetry about "all the blood of all the Howards" has made their name almost synonymous with aristocracy. Fortunate marriages have made them the representatives of some really old houses, as the Bohuns, who were Barons in the Cotentin before the Conquest, but their own pedigree is not a very great one. The earliest of the name who rose high enough to be recorded was Sir William Howard or Haward, one of the special justices appointed 21st Edward I., 1293, to hold assizes throughout the realm—perhaps the very greatest reform ever introduced in England. Mr Henry Howard, of Corby Castle, in his memorials of the family, refers to deeds which indicate that Sir William had a grandfather; but as neither he nor his son were of any mark, we may assume the fact without comment, merely remarking that it is probable, from the name, that the family were Saxon. Sir William held assize in the West, and on October 11, 1297, he was created one of the judges of the Common Pleas, and as such he continued to act till 1308; but there is no evidence of his having been Chief Justice,

as the peerage-makers have it. The post paid, and Mr Howard reports that he finds Sir William adding to his estate by purchases in Wiggenhall, East Winch, and neighbouring townships in Norfolk. His first wife, Alice, was a daughter of Sir Robert Ufford, the ancestor of a family which afterwards became Earls of Suffolk, but she left no issue. He married, secondly, another Alice, daughter of Sir Edmund de Fitton, or Phitton, and sister of Sir John de Fitton, on whose death she inherited part of the manor of Fitton, in Wiggenhall St Germain's, where that family resided, their mansion being still indicated by the surrounding moat, of about an acre in extent. She resided at East Winch, near Lynn, with her husband, and the Fitton and Howard coats of arms are still existing in the windows of the church of Wiggenhall, St Mary's. The judge was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir John Howard, who was a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk from 1318 to 1322, and Governor of the Castle of Norwich and Commissioner of Army in Norfolk in 1327. He purchased many manors in Suffolk and Norfolk, particularly East Winch, East Walton, Walton-juxta-Kirbroke, Wiggenhall, Wirmegey, Tirrington, West Walcot, South Wotton, North Wotton, Great Walsingham, and the Honour of Clare, and married Joan, daughter of Richard de Cornwall. His son by her, Sir John Howard, was in 1335 constituted Admiral in the North Seas, and died after 1388. *His* son, by Alice de Bosco, or Bois, heiress to her brother, Robert de Bois, of Fersfield, was Sir Robert de Howard, who died, in 1388, before his father, and left by Margaret, daughter of Lord Scales, a son, Sir John, who was of

considerable importance in the Eastern Counties, and Sheriff of the counties of Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, and Knight of the Shire for Cambridge. He died at Jerusalem on pilgrimage, November 17, 1437. He was twice married, and his granddaughter Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Howard, his son by his first wife, who died in his father's lifetime, marrying John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, carried away most of the Howard estates. By his second wife, Alice, daughter of Sir W. Tendring, of Tendring Hall, and Stoke Neyland, Sir John (the elder) had two sons, Sir Robert and Henry. Of Sir Robert (born about 1384-5) it is recorded that during the French wars of Henry V. "he kept the coasts of France about Calais or thereabouts with a fleet wherein he had 4000 men, viz., mariners and others." The (probable) portrait of him on painted glass represents a pleasing open countenance, with fair, straight, flowing hair much resembling that of his mother, who was a great beauty of those times. His own position as a younger son was not a brilliant one, as the birth of an heiress to his elder brother, and her subsequent marriage (in the year 1428-9) to the Earl of Oxford, stripped him of the greater part of his patrimonial possessions. Nor was the match which he made after his French campaign, however brilliant in point of family, one which brought any addition to his present income, or promised any substantial advantage to his descendants. He wooed and married the Lady Margaret Mowbray, a daughter—probably the eldest daughter—of Thomas de Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Nottingham and Earl Marshal, Plantagenet and Capet by the mother's side, and husband of Elizabeth, the daughter

and coheiress of Richard FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel. But the fortunes of the family were now overcast. The Mowbray estate, sequestrated in great part on the banishment of the Duke, but without any regular attainder, devolved on Thomas, the eldest brother of Lady Margaret, who was fourteen years old when his father died; but, rising in rebellion against Henry IV., he was beheaded when scarce nineteen. Leaving no issue, his brother John, serving in the French wars with Henry V., ultimately had his lands restored to him; but it was not till the third year of Henry VI. (1424) that Parliament adjudged that the title of Duke of Norfolk belonged to him. The dukedom of Norfolk descended in the Mowbrays for two generations more before the male race became extinct. The last Duke of that family died in January 1476, leaving an only daughter and heiress, Ann, who died in 1482, and it was not till some years after this latter date, long after the death of Lady Margaret Mowbray, that the Howards benefited by the match made by Sir Robert. The sum of £200 had been promised by Lady Margaret's brother, John, Duke of Norfolk, but at the time of the death of Alice Tendring in 1426 this had never been paid, and Sir Robert and his wife were supported by his mother on her estate. Nothing could therefore have been less of a mercenary match on both sides than that on which—as it turned out—the greatness of the Howard family was built. Sir Robert Howard himself died before his father in some year between 1426 and 1436; his wife was alive in 1437. Their son JOHN, who was destined to become the successor of the Mowbrays in their ducal dignity, and the second founder of the family of

Howard, was therefore born with far different prospects.

The date of his birth is unknown—it may have been in 1420 or 1422, or two or three years later. He served with credit in the French wars under the great Talbot, was with him at the relief of Bordeaux, and at the fatal battle of Chatillon, July 20, 1453, and himself received a severe wound there, but managed to escape to Bordeaux. The next year or the next but one he was supported by the Mowbray interest for the representation of the county of Norfolk against Sir Henry Grey, who was favoured by the Earl of Oxford, the husband of his cousin, Elizabeth Howard. As Mowbray had espoused the Yorkist side against Queen Margaret of Anjou's favourites, this proves that John Howard had thrown in his lot with the Duke of York's party, the De Veres having enlisted on the Queen's side. At the battle of Towton, March 29, 1461, the Earl of Oxford and his son Aubrey were taken prisoners, attainted in the Parliament held that year, and beheaded on Tower Hill on the 20th of February following. The conduct of Sir John Howard, for he had been at an early period knighted, was most generous towards the widowed Countess. Probably through the influence he had already obtained with Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the latter was persuaded to accept the office of trustee of her estate, and thus the free enjoyment of the income of it was secured to the Countess. The attainder of the De Veres was also in 1464 reversed, and her son John put in possession of his honours and estate. We find Sir John Howard paying visits to her and her son, and supplying her with money, and he seems

to have managed her property for her. The young Earl, however, could not resist joining the Lancastrians again in 1470, escaped from the battle of Barnet, and shared the fortunes of Queen Margaret and the young Earl of Richmond till the battle of Bosworth, in which he commanded the archers who formed the vanguard of Richmond's army, and according to one account himself slew his relative, John Howard, then Duke of Norfolk. The rise of the latter after the accession of Edward IV. had been rapid. Immediately after the battle of Towton the King appointed him to a place of constant attendance on his person, and made him Sheriff of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, and Constable of the Castles of Norwich, Colchester, and Harwich, so that with his own estates near Lynn, the management of the Countess of Oxford's, his influence at Ipswich through his residence at Tendring Hall, and the direction given him by John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, of his vast property in these two counties, Sir John Howard attained to a very considerable position. King Edward also in the same year granted him in special tail some of the forfeited manors of James Butler, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, and the next year he was appointed with Lords Falconbridge and Clinton to keep the seas, with a fleet and 10,000 men; and, landing in Brittany, they took the town of Conquet, and made themselves masters of the Isle of Rhé on the coast of Poictou. A few years afterwards Howard was made Master of the Wardrobe, and Treasurer of the Household in 1468, the latter appointment being in reward for his prudent management of an embassy that year to Louis XI. of France in behalf of Francis, Duke of Brittany; and at the

same time he had a grant of the whole benefit that should accrue to the King by coinage of money in the City and Tower of London or elsewhere in the realm of England, so long as he should continue in the office of Treasurer. The same year he attended the Lady Margaret, the King's sister, into Flanders, to be married to the Duke of Burgundy. He was also created a Baron by summons or patent, but the exact time we do not know. October 15, 1470, is the first date of summons given by Nicolas, but in his appointment to the embassy to France, the 30th of November 1467, he is styled "Johes Howard, Miles, Dominus de Howard," so that his elevation must be assigned to some earlier date. The following entry in his steward's books enables us to place his elevation at some day between the 20th of April and the 30th of November 1467:—"The yeare above sayd, and 20th April, my master *Sir John* Howard and Master Thomas Brewse spend for costes at Ypswyche, when they were chosen *Knytes of the Shire*, as foleyth," viz., 44 items, all for provisions, including 2 hogsheads of wine, and amounting to £40, 17s. 8d. This, then, was Sir John's *last* election to the House of Commons before his elevation to the peerage. Howard had been already twice married: first, in 1442 or 1443, to Catherine, daughter of William Lord Molines; and secondly, about February 1467, to Margaret, daughter of Sir John Chedworth. By the first marriage he had an only son, Thomas, born in 1444, the future hero of Flodden, who was now the companion of his father in all his enterprises. He is mentioned on his monument as having been with King Edward in his expedition against the Lincolnshire rebels, and also

at Banbury fight,—*i. e.*, Edgecote Field,—where the Herberts suffered so disastrous a defeat. Thomas Howard is also said (on the same tablet) to have been with the King during his captivity to Warwick, and Lilly the Herald claims for him to have been an agent in Edward's escape. Some little doubt has been thrown on the part taken by his father, Lord Howard. We believe, after careful examination, that he was a consistent Yorkist, who only submitted to Warwick in deference to Edward's own command, and was never trusted by the Kingmaker. The instant Edward reappeared in England he proclaimed him in Suffolk, and his son Thomas was present and sorely wounded, says his monument, at Barnet, and on the success of the expedition the father rose to a pinnacle of favour. King Edward at once nominated him Deputy-Governor of Calais and the adjacent marches under Lord Hastings, and Sir John Paston in a letter of September 13, 1471, reports that "the Lords Hastings and Howard be at Calais, and have it peaceably." From this time we find Howard employed constantly by the restored King in all his enterprises and negotiations. In 1475 he was with him in the invasion of France, which King Louis bought off by a yearly pension of 50,000 crowns to Edward, and a pension of 16,000 crowns among his principal attendants, Hastings, Howard, St Leger, Montgomery, the Marquess of Dorset, and others, and "a fair debauche" and free quarters to the whole army. Besides this, according to Comines, King Louis made large presents to Hastings, Howard, and others, and he declares that Howard received in less than two years' space in money and plate 24,000 crowns. Howard also

received many forfeited manors from his own King, and in the 18th of his reign was appointed Constable of the Tower of London during life, in reversion after the death of John Lord Dudley (which took place four years afterwards). In the 19th Edward IV. he was appointed Captain-General of a fleet against the Scots with 3000 men-at-arms. Lord Howard was with King Edward when he declared his son Edward his heir, at his death, and at his funeral, where he bore the King's standard. One of the first acts, however, of the Queen-mother's party in the new Government during the absence of the Duke of Gloucester in his Scotch expedition, was to deprive Howard of the command of the Tower, and appoint in his stead Lord Rivers. Howard accepted the challenge thus given, and thenceforward devoted himself unwaveringly to Richard's interests. Their interests coincided in one respect at least. Edward IV., on the extinction of the male line of the Mowbrays in January 1476, had invested his second son, Richard, Duke of York, with the deceased Duke's dignities and titles (Earl of Nottingham, Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, &c.), and on January 15, 1478, betrothed him to Lady Anne Mowbray, the heiress of the late Duke of Norfolk. The young lady died in 1482, and Lord Howard and Lord Berkeley then became the representatives of the Mowbrays. Both these noblemen, it will be observed, became supporters of Richard's usurpation, and on the 28th of June 1483 (immediately after his assumption of the crown), that King revived the titles of the Mowbrays in their persons (notwithstanding the creations to his nephew), making Berkeley Earl of Nottingham, and Howard Duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshal, with

a grant to the latter of £20 annually to himself and his heirs for ever out of the fee-farm rent of the town of Ipswich. On the same day, Thomas Howard, the heir of the new Duke, was created in his own right Earl of Surrey. On the 25th of July the Duke was created Lord Admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine for life, and on the same day obtained a grant in special tail of divers manors and lordships in the counties of Suffolk, Kent, Cambridge, Cornwall, Somerset, and Wilts. The year following he obtained another grant in special tail of several other manors in different counties. He supported Richard actively, was appealed to by the Princess Elizabeth (Edward IV.'s eldest daughter) as "the man in whom she most affied, in respect of that love her father had ever bore him," to be the mediator towards her marriage to her uncle Richard,—was prompt and energetic in raising forces for Richard, and, marching with them to Bosworth, had the centre of Richard's army intrusted to him, consisting of archers, and resembling a "strong fortified bulwark." The Earl of Oxford commanded the centre of Richmond's army specially opposed to Norfolk, but his utmost efforts to break this compact body were vain until Lord Stanley charged them suddenly on the flank, and even then, as is well known, amidst the general desertion Richard, Norfolk, and Surrey maintained the fight, and had nearly regained the day when Sir William Stanley surrounded them with his forces. Whether he fell in personal combat or by an arrow is unknown, but when the day was over John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, lay dead on the field (August 22, 1485), and his gallant son Surrey was a prisoner in the hands of Henry of Richmond.

The Duke's body was carried to Thetford Abbey and there buried. The warning said to have been sent to him before the battle is well known,—

> "Jockey of Norfolk, be not too bold,
> For Dickon thy master is bought and sold;"

but, in the words of an old chronicler, "he regarded more his oath, his honour, and his promise made to King Richard. Like a gentleman and as a faithful subject to his Prince, he absented not himself from his master, but *as he faithfully lived under him, so he manfully died with him.*" And these words are his best epitaph, for we know too little of his personal character apart from political affairs, and too little even of these, to pass any other judgment. His portrait presents us with a powerful type of face, broad but not high forehead, sunken cheeks and high cheek-bones, aquiline nose, dark curling hair and mustache, a stern searching eye, and altogether a rather Italian cast of countenance, differing in a remarkable manner from his father's.

Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, who succeeded him in his claims rather than his titles and estates, was attainted after Bosworth along with his dead father, and remained a prisoner in the Tower till a singular incident led to his release. In 1487 the Earl of Lincoln, nephew of Edward IV. and Richard III., had raised once more the standard of the house of York, using Lambert Simnel as his stalking-horse. On the 16th of June King Henry and the Earl of Oxford encountered the insurgents at Stoke, and after three hours' doubtful fight entirely defeated them. But the contest shook Henry's throne. The latest writer on

that time, Mr Gairdner, thus describes the conduct of the captive Earl of Surrey on this occasion:—"Rumours were spread in London that the rebels had gained the day, and the Lieutenant of the Tower offered the keys of his prison to the Earl of Surrey. Nor does it seem an unwarrantable belief that had the captive nobleman availed himself of the opportunity the reign of Henry might have been as short as his predecessor's. But of Richard III. it must at least be said that he had not ennobled the Howards unworthily. The Earl answered with a spirit worthy of the best days of chivalry, that he would not accept his liberty from his jailer—he would remain till the King who had ordered him to confinement should order him again to freedom. The story is that Surrey charged the Lieutenant if the King should survive the battle to bring him to his presence, that he might offer his allegiance; and Henry, who had seen good proof of his fidelity to Richard III., saw at once that he might be depended on. Surrey was released from the Tower. Ten weeks later occurred the great rebellion in the North, when the Earl of Northumberland was slain. The King," who like his son had a fine eye for a man, "assembled an army and made Surrey captain, placing under him the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Hastings, and even Sir William Stanley, to whom he had so greatly owed his success at Bosworth. Shortly afterwards he made him Lieutenant-General of the North and Warden of the East and Middle Marches against Scotland. He thus committed to his care the whole country north of the Trent, and an office of greater responsibility he could not have conferred on any one. Surrey had not only to protect this great region

against the continual invasions of the Scots, but to keep in due subjection the inhabitants themselves, whose disaffection appears long to have remained smouldering, and broke out in a new rebellion in the spring of 1492. It was quelled by Surrey in a battle fought at Ackworth, near Pomfret," of which battle, —such is the state of our knowledge of those days,— we should have been entirely ignorant but for a monumental inscription confirmed by a chance allusion in the 'Plumpton Correspondence.' In 1489 Thomas Howard was formally restored to the Earldom of Surrey, and to all those lands which were of his wife's inheritance. This wife (his first) was Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Frederick Tylney, of Ashwellthorpe, Norfolk, and widow of Humphrey Bourchier, Lord Berners, killed at Barnet Field on the York side. She is the ancestress of the Norfolk, Suffolk, Carlisle, and Corby branches of the Howards. In the 12th Henry VII. he was appointed with Richard Fox, Bishop of Durham, to treat with the Scotch Commissioners for the marriage of the Princess Margaret with James IV. of Scotland, the marriage from which proceeded the claims of the house of Stuart to the English throne. The next year he relieved Norham Castle, the Scots retiring on his approach. Surrey pursued them into Scotland, and after taking the Castle of Aytoun re-entered England. In 1498 Surrey was one of the temporal peers called together by the King to ratify the peace with France. In the 15th Henry VII. he made partition with Maurice Berkeley of the Mowbray property. On June 25, 1501, he was appointed Lord Treasurer of England. As Treasurer he forwarded discoveries in America and checked the debasement of

the coinage. In the 17th year of this reign he was again a commissioner to negotiate the Scotch marriage, and the negotiation succeeded at last. The royal bride being conducted by her father as far as Collweston, in Northamptonshire, was there delivered by him to the care of Surrey, who conducted her with great magnificence to her husband, whom he was afterwards to meet in a very different fashion. Henry VIII. followed his father's example in showing favour to Surrey. On the 28th of July, in the 1st year of his reign, he renewed his patent of Lord Treasurer, and employed him with Bishop Fox in arranging several treaties with foreign princes. The next year he was constituted Earl-Marshal for life, and in the 5th Henry VIII., when the King undertook his Terouenne and Tournay expedition to France, he left Surrey in England to defend the North against the Scots, ordering him to draw towards that quarter, and constituting him Lieutenant of the North, with power to raise and command the forces of the northern counties, and when he embarked at Dover Henry took the Earl by the hand, saying, "My Lord, I trust not the Scots, therefore I pray you be not negligent." To which Surrey replied, "I shall so do my duty that your Grace shall find me diligent, and to fulfil your will shall be my gladness." Hall, who went over with the King, says the Earl could scarcely speak when he took his leave, he was so concerned at being left behind; and said to some that were about him, "Sorry should he be if he did not see the King of Scots that was the cause of his abiding behind; and if ever they met, he should do that in him lieth to make him as sorry or die." He then returned to London, "comforted the Queen," and sending for his

gentlemen and tenants, "500 able men," rode through London the next day (July 21, 1513), and proceeded to Pomfret, where he mustered the men of the North, and sent to the Captain of Norham Castle offering to succour him if he was in any danger. The Captain, however, assured him of his capacity to hold the King of Scots in play, but was compelled nevertheless to surrender to the assault of King James. On this Surrey summoned his army to meet him at Newcastle on the 1st of September, to the number of 26,000 men, and appointed his eldest son, Thomas, who was Lord Admiral, to come by sea and meet him near Alnwick, which he did on the 4th of September, bringing 1000 additional men. The tale of Flodden Field has been too often and too well told to require repetition. The fight took place on September 9, 1513, and resulted, as is well known, in the entire overthrow and destruction of the Scotch army, their King and principal nobles being left dead on the field. All the Howards, Surrey and his two sons, Thomas and Edmund, fought gallantly, and, by their side on this occasion, a Stanley. King Henry received the welcome tidings of the victory when before Tournay on September 25th, and, says Hall, "highly praised the Earl, and the Lord Admiral his son, and all that were in that warlike enterprise." But Henry did not confine himself to words. The Earl had a special grant to himself and the heirs male of his body of an honourable augmentation of his arms, and on the 1st of February following (1514) he was restored to the dignity of Duke of Norfolk, the ceremony of his creation being performed at Lambeth the following day. At the same time he surrendered his title of Earl of Surrey "for the term of the life of

his son" Thomas, who was then at once created Earl of Surrey for life. By other letters-patent, also bearing date February 1, the Duke had a grant in special tail of the manors of Acton Burnell, Holdgate, Abeton, Millenchop, Langdon, Chatwall, Smethcote Wolstanton, Uppington, and Rushbury, in Shropshire; Sothull, in Warwickshire; Wolverhampton, in Staffordshire; Birehurst and Upton Lovel, in Wilts; Erdescote, in Berks; Homesdon, Eastwick, Barley, and Hide, in Herts; Kencott and Kerdwick, in Oxfordshire; East Wickham, in Kent; the castles of Bolsover and Horsedon, and manor of Horsley, in Derbyshire; and the manors of Clipston, Limby, Mansfield-Woodhouse, and Sutton-in-Ashfield, in Notts, to be held by the service of one knight's fee. The Howards had finally won the game. It had taken two generations of them to secure the position won originally by a marriage, and in the whole history of the English peerage there is no passage more brilliant than that struggle of seventy years. In an age of universal treachery, and with a stake at issue enough to crush any ordinary virtue, the two Howards deliberately preferred their honour as gentlemen to their position as nobles, flung titles and estates away rather than submit to a "transaction" sanctioned by the example of a Stanley, and won back with the sword while defending England all they had lost by their fidelity to the house of York. Strangely enough it was given to their house once more to play for the Tudors the part they had played for the Yorkists, and a Howard repaid the grace of Henry VIII. by securing to his daughter her tottering throne. It was a Howard who won Flodden, a Howard who defeated the Armada; and to such ser-

vices the blood of the Bohuns, the Mowbrays, or the Plantagenets can add nothing.

On the 2d of August 1514, the Duke of Norfolk was appointed one of the Commissioners to conclude treaties of peace, free trade, and alliance with Louis XII. of France, and also a marriage-treaty between that aged King and the Princess Mary, Henry's younger sister. He was one of those present at the marriage by proxy at Greenwich on the 13th August, and the bride was intrusted by the King and Queen to his care at Dover, from which place on the 2d of October (accompanied by his son the Earl of Surrey and by the Marquess of Dorset) he conveyed her through a great storm safely to Boulogne. The Duke found it so expensive to live constantly at Court that in the 7th Henry VIII. he withdrew for a time to his country seat; but his presence was soon again rendered necessary by the insurrection of the London tradesmen and apprentices, caused by the underselling of foreigners, May 1, 1517, commonly called *Evil May-Day*. He was assisted in quelling the riot by his son Surrey and the Earl of Shrewsbury. On the 13th of May 1521 the Duke acted as High Steward on the trial of the Duke of Buckingham, and was moved to tears while passing sentence on him. The next year he made humble suit to the King that he might, in respect of his great age, resign the Lord Treasurer's staff. Henry was very unwilling to accept the resignation, but at last, receiving the staff, said he would deliver it where he should think it best bestowed; and calling the Earl of Surrey, who was at bowls on Richmond Green, gave it to him, December 4, 1522. Such were the acts by which the Tudors won the affections of their subjects. In the

same year the King made a grant in special tail to the Duke and his son Surrey of the manors of Wells, Sheringham-Stafford, Barryngham, Warham, and Weveton, in Norfolk and Suffolk, with the advowsons of the churches, part of the possessions of the late Duke of Buckingham. The Duke died May 21, 1524, at his castle of Framlingham, aged 80. By his first wife, Elizabeth Tylney, he had eight sons, five of whom died without issue, and before him. Thomas Earl of Surrey succeeded him as third Duke of Norfolk. Lord Edward was Standard-bearer to the King in the 1st Henry VIII., and Lord Admiral in 1512. He was a very distinguished commander both by sea and land, particularly in the French wars, but perished April 25, 1513, in a daring attempt to destroy some French galleys which were in Conquet Bay under cover of land-batteries, the main fleet of the French being at the same time blocked up by him in Brest harbour. Sir Edward leapt on board one of the enemy's galleys, but his own getting cut adrift, he was left in the midst of his enemies, when, taking off his symbol of rank as Admiral (a whistle), and throwing it into the sea, he fought for his life, and when last seen was pressed against the side of the vessel by his enemies' pikes, and it is supposed he was borne overboard into the sea. The story that he was driven to this attempt on the French by an angry letter of the King's can be disproved by satisfactory evidence. Henry greatly lamented his death, and immediately gave the office of Lord Admiral to his elder brother Thomas, who bore that title at Flodden. Lord Edward was married, but left no issue. Lord Edmund Howard, the third son of the Flodden Duke who grew to maturity, was

Marshal of the Host and leader of the right wing at Flodden, and was one of the challengers at the meeting of Henry and Francis at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. By his first wife, a Culpeper, of Hollingbourn, Kent, he was father of the unfortunate Queen Catherine Howard. From her elder sister, Margaret, is descended the Lord Arundell of Wardour. Lord Edmund's sister, Elizabeth, married Sir Thomas Boleyn, and became the mother of another of King Henry's wives, Queen Anne Boleyn, and grandmother of Queen Elizabeth.

The second wife of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk was Agnes, daughter of Sir Hugh Tylney, and sister and heiress of Sir Philip Tylney, of Boston. Their eldest son, Lord William Howard, was created Baron Howard of Effingham, and was the father of the Armada hero and ancestor of the present Earl of Effingham. The second son, Lord Thomas Howard, got into great trouble by a marriage, without the King's consent, to Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of King Henry's elder sister, Margaret, Queen of Scotland, by her marriage with the Earl of Angus. Lord Thomas was attainted, and died a prisoner in the Tower, November 1, 1537, after which his wife was released from the same prison-house.

Thomas, third Duke of Norfolk, has been already mentioned several times as Earl of Surrey in connection with his father. He was made a Knight of the Garter in the 2d Henry VIII., and the next year commanded one of the ships which fought with and took the famous Scotch rover Sir Andrew Barton. He also accompanied the Marquess of Dorset to Spain, and during his sojourn there commanded the English con-

tingent intended to co-operate in an invasion of Guienne. He became, as we have seen, Lord Admiral in succession to his brother Edward, and co-operated by sea and land with his father in the Flodden campaign. In the 12th Henry VIII., being then Earl of Surrey, he was appointed Lord-Deputy of Ireland. Mr Froude thus describes his conduct in this position:—"In 1520 the Earl of Kildare was deprived of his office, and sent for to England. His place was taken by the Earl of Surrey, who of all living Englishmen combined in the highest degree the necessary qualities of soldier and statesman. It seemed as if the old weak forbearance was to last no longer, and as if Ireland was now finally to learn the needful lesson of obedience." But King Henry was unwilling at first to have recourse to coercion for this purpose. "He would first try persuasion, and have recourse to extremity only if persuasion failed. His directions to the Earl of Surrey, therefore, were, that at the earliest opportunity he should call an assembly of so many of the Irish chiefs as he could induce to come to him, and to discourse to them upon the elementary principles of social order and government. If Surrey were sanguine of any good result, he was soon undeceived. He had no sooner landed than the whole country was in arms against him. O'Neile, O'Carroll, O'Connor, O'Brien, and Desmond broke into simultaneous rebellion, acting, as was proved by intercepted letters, under instructions which Kildare had sent from England. Surrey informed Wolsey briefly of the state of the country, and advised that unless the King was prepared for extreme measures he should not waste money in partial effort. Writing subsequently to

Henry himself, he said that the work to be done was a repetition of the conquest of Wales by Edward I., and it would prove at least as tedious and as expensive. Nevertheless if the King could make up his mind to desire it, there was no insuperable difficulty. He would undertake the work himself with six thousand men. The difficulty would be then, however, but half overcome—the habits of the people were incurable. Strong castles must be built up and down the island like those at Conway and Carnarvon, and a large immigration of English colonists would be necessary. Either as much as this should be done, he thought, or nothing. Half-measures only made bad into worse, and a policy of repression, if not consistently maintained, was unjust and pernicious. It encouraged the better affected of the inhabitants to show their goodwill to the Government, and when the Irish were again in power these persons were marked for vengeance. Practical experience was laid against Henry's philosophy, and it would have been well if the King could have discerned clearly on which side the truth was likely to lie. For the misfortune of Ireland this was not the case. It was inconvenient at the moment to undertake a costly conquest. Surrey was maintained with a short retinue, and from want of power could only enter upon a few partial expeditions. He inflicted a heavy defeat upon O'Neile, he stormed a castle of O'Connor's, and showed with the small means at his disposal what he might have done with far less support than he had required. He went where he pleased through the country. But his course was 'as the way of a ship through the sea, or as the way of a bird through the air.' The elements yielded

without resistance and closed in behind him; and after eighteen months of manful exertion, feeling the uselessness of further enterprises conducted on so small a scale, to the sorrow and alarm of the Irish Council he desired and obtained his recall." Surrey then returned to his post of Admiral, and ravaged the coasts of France; and in 1552, in prospect of a new Scotch invasion, the Earl of Shrewsbury was removed from his office of Lord-Lieutenant of the North, and Surrey put in his place as a more able man. In this position he played a busy part both in war and negotiations for many years, invading and pillaging Scotland several times, and compelling the Regent Albany to retreat before him in a very ignominious manner. On the death of his father and his accession to the Dukedom he continued in his office in the North, and in the 17th Henry VIII. obtained a grant in reversion of the castle, honour, and manor of Folkingham, in Lincolnshire, and also of several other manors. He was next appointed to treat for a peace with France, and was sent with the Duke of Suffolk against the insurgents of Suffolk, who had risen against illegal taxation. He was sent also to demand the Great Seal from Wolsey, and after the Cardinal's fall threatened him through Cromwell, on his refusing to remove to York, so as to be at a distance from the King, that "if he got not away he would tear him with his teeth." He was also one of the Lords who subscribed the articles against him. And on the consequent failure of Wolsey's project for founding colleges at Oxford and Ipswich out of the funds of the monastery of Felixton (or Filcheston), in Suffolk, dissolved by the Pope's authority, the Duke obtained a grant in

fee of that religious house, with all belonging thereto, April 7, 22d Henry VIII. He was one of the Peers who subscribed the letter to the Pope in favour of a divorce from Catherine of Arragon. In October 1532 he attended the King to his meeting with Francis at Boulogne, and had the order of knighthood of St Michael conferred on him by the latter. In 1533, on the surrender of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, he was constituted Earl Marshal of England. As such he presided at the trial of Lord Dacre for correspondence with the Scots. In the 27th Henry VIII. he was again sent on a mission to France respecting the divorce, and the next year, being President of the North, marched into Yorkshire to aid in suppressing the *Pilgrimage of Grace*. In 31st Henry VIII., having purchased from the abbot and convent of Sibton, Suffolk, the site of that religious house and all the lands thereto belonging, he procured a special Act of Parliament that the purchase should not be prejudicial to him (in view, no doubt, of the King's intended confiscation of the remaining convent lands). On January 29, 32d Henry VIII., he was constituted Lieutenant-General of the King's forces beyond the Trent, and soon after sent ambassador again to France with reference to the Duchy of Milan. On September 1, 1542, he was made Captain-General of the King's forces in the North, and in October and November invaded and wasted Scotland with an army of 20,000 men. In the 36th Henry VIII. he was sent in command to France to lay siege to Montreuil, and led the vanguard of the King's army in the advance to Boulogne.

But a cloud now overcast the fortunes of the Duke

and of the House of Howard. The character of the third Duke, distinguished as he was in the Council and the field, was not of the highest or noblest cast; his private life was far from respectable, and his domestic relations had assumed a most unhappy complexion. Although really a sincere adherent of the Roman Catholic Church, he lent himself pliantly to all the proceedings of the King, not only in the divorce of Catherine of Arragon, but in the subsequent separation from Rome. He was considered, it is true, as the leader of the Catholic party at the royal Council-board, but although he fostered every anti-Protestant tendency in the King, he never made any stand against Henry when he struck at the Church of Rome or took further steps in the Reformation. He also lent himself tamely to all Henry's acts of tyranny, public and private, and the servility of his language on these occasions is unsurpassed even in that age. The King's domestic relation with two members of the Howard family in succession exhibited the Duke in a most painful and discreditable light. He gladly aided in the rise of his niece Anne Boleyn and the downfall of Wolsey, though these events involved the schism from Rome; but when Henry's passion for Anne cooled, when Jane Seymour's influence was in the ascendant, and the accusations, whether entirely unfounded or not, against the Queen came before the Council, the Duke behaved in such a manner that Anne complained to Sir William Kingston that she was cruelly handled by the King's Council, "and that the Duke of Norfolk in answer to her defence had said 'Tut, tut, tut!' shaking his head three or four times." He presided at her trial, and passed sentence

on her and her brother Lord Rochfort, being, it is said, "moved to tears" in the former instance. But he was an eager agent in the whole affair against her, and he also deserted his other hapless niece, Catherine, in the hour of her danger, and could find no sympathy in either case except for the merciless King. But retribution was preparing for him in his own family. His first wife had been Lady Anne Plantagenet, third daughter of Edward IV.,—according to one story, betrothed to him in the reign of Richard III., but whom he married on the 4th of February 1495, Henry VII. himself giving her away. He seems to have lived happily with her for sixteen years, and had four sons who died in infancy. But a few months after her death he married Elizabeth Stafford, eldest daughter of Edward Duke of Buckingham. They had several children, the eldest of whom was Henry, the poet Earl of Surrey. There was also a daughter, Mary, who was married when about fourteen or fifteen to Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, natural son of Henry VIII., a boy of fourteen, who died two or three years afterwards. The remaining child of the Duke of Norfolk's second marriage who lived to maturity was Thomas, afterwards created by Elizabeth, January 13, 1559, Viscount Howard of Bindon, Dorset (which title became extinct in 1610). Bitter altercations arose between the Duke of Norfolk and his second wife, a woman of violent temper, whose letters on the subject seem to bear a tinge of insanity. She accused the Duke of keeping a mistress in the house, one Elizabeth Holland, whom she in one place calls a laundrymaid, in another a relation of Lord Hussey's. Her elder son and daughter took the side of their

father, and she is equally violent in her abuse of them. She separated from the Duke. Such had been the household in which young Catherine Howard had been brought up.

Surrey was the most accomplished young man of the age, high-spirited and gallant to rashness, and a scholar as well as a soldier. But he was also wayward and fanciful, full of extravagance both of thought and act, haughty and arrogant in respect of his birth beyond any man of the time, a warm-hearted and affectionate husband to his wife, Lady Frances Vere, daughter of the Earl of Oxford, but yet given to brawls and riotous excesses which we should now consider incompatible with the character of a gentleman. Romance has gathered its fabulous mist around his early life. He is made the hero of a tournament at Florence, when it would appear that he never visited Italy; and his supposed love for the fair Geraldine is reduced to a mythical character when we find that she was a child only ten years old when his sonnets were composed, and only eighteen at the time of his death. The Howards had fallen into disfavour ever since the charges against Catherine Howard, which disclosed much of the home life of the family little creditable to its morality, and was a severe blow to the Catholic party, of which they were the leaders. The Duke, impatient at his loss of power and the rising influence of the upstart Seymours, engaged in dangerous intrigues and secret meetings with the French Ambassador and other agents of the foreign Catholics to secure the re-ascendany of the Catholic party in England. Surrey, more ambitious and imprudent, speculated on the

possibilities of his father becoming Regent or Protector after the death of the King, and allowed his followers to talk of him as a Prince, grounding much on his royal descent from Edward I. In January 1543 some of this vague talk came to the knowledge of the Council, in consequence of a discreditable riot in the borough in which Lord Surrey and his noble young associates had engaged. Surrey was admonished, and committed to a short restraint. But as the health of the King declined the hopes and fears of the Howards grew higher, and Surrey became more and more imprudent. He and his sister, the Duchess of Richmond, had now quarrelled. She had adopted Protestant opinions, and Surrey, though he did not scruple to eat meat in Lent, was violent against the Protestant *party*, if not against the Protestant *faith*. He did not conceal his scorn of the "new men" (this probably was the key to his Catholic bias); and when, after a military failure in France, Hertford superseded him, and retrieved the lost laurels of England, Surrey's mortification was intense, and he loudly threatened that one day the Seymours should smart for it. The Seymours were not gentle, meek-spirited men, and Surrey was soon made to feel this. The King seems to have had an idea of reconciling the two greatest families in the realm by marrying the Duchess of Richmond to one of the Seymours, brother to Hertford. The lady was probably not averse to the match, but Surrey opposed it, and according to his sister's statement, first to Sir Gawin Carew and afterwards to the Council at her brother's trial, advised her to return evasive answers to the King, and by obtaining repeated interviews with him on the subject gain his

love, and so rule him and the kingdom as his mistress. According to her account, she rejected the idea with indignation; but the charge (not so impossible in itself, considering the times) must be left to rest on her unsupported evidence. But this graver charge was not preferred until after another proceeding of Surrey's had brought down upon him the jealous anger of the King. Towards the close of November 1546, as is asserted, Surrey made a change in the armorial bearings on his shield. By grant of Richard II. to the Mowbrays, they, and consequently the Howards as their representatives, were entitled to bear the arms of England in the *second* quarter, as collaterals of the royal house of Plantagenet. This they had frequently but not constantly done. It is said, however, that Surrey now assumed the quarterings which belonged especially and only to the heir-apparent to the throne. (But the shield given as that for which he was attainted does not support this.) It was stated by one of the heralds that the Earl had shown him the new quarterings he was about to assume, and on being told he had no right to them, had declared that he had taken them from an old shield, and absolutely refused to desist from his project. In consequence he was served with a formal inhibition. Matters were then further inquired into by the Court, and several witnesses appeared to depose to the reckless conversation and views of the Earl, and his father's intrigues with the foreign powers. The question as to whether Surrey had assumed arms to which he had no right is involved in great doubt and contradiction, but in a broader view of the matter there seems little doubt

that Surrey and his father at this time were playing a dangerous game, not aiming indeed probably at the crown itself, but at the exclusive management of the State and the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion, whatever might be the wishes of the young King and his relatives. The Duchess of Richmond in her examination endeavoured to shift the blame off her father's shoulders as much as possible, and throw it all on her brother; but Norfolk, by himself admitting in his letters to the King and Council that he had been guilty of a treasonable act by bearing the arms, cut off any chance, however slight, of him or his son being judicially acquitted. On the 13th January 1547 Surrey was tried before a special commission at the Guildhall, and, after a spirited defence of himself, was found guilty, sentenced, and executed January 21, in the twenty-ninth year of his age. The Duke of Norfolk was proceeded against in Parliament by bill of attainder; it was pressed forward through the Houses by an urgent message from the Crown—Henry's enemies say because he was dying, and wished to sate his vengeance on Norfolk first; his friends, because he was about to have his successor crowned before he died, and it was necessary to degrade Norfolk from the right of assisting at the coronation. Probably Henry, or those about him, wished to secure the new Government by putting Norfolk out of their way by a parliamentary attainder. The royal assent was given to the bill of attainder January 27, but the next day King Henry himself was no more. The Duke's life was not sought by the Protector Seymour, but he remained a close prisoner in the Tower all the reign of Edward VI. On the triumphant entry of

Queen Mary into London, August 3, 1553, he was released from confinement, and at once (before the formal repeal of his attainder, in the first Parliament of Mary) was treated as Duke of Norfolk, and had his lands restored. On the 18th of the month he presided as High Steward on the trial of Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. On Wyat's insurrection in 1554 the Duke raised 200 horse and 600 foot, and although more than eighty years of age marched at their head to Rochester. He succeeded in defeating a party of the insurgents on the road, but his army being wrought upon deserted him afterwards, and he had to escape as he best could, leaving the metropolis open to Wyat. After the suppression of the rising—thanks to Queen Mary's firmness—the Duke retired from public life to his seat of Kenninghall in Norfolk, where he made his will, and died a month afterwards, August 25, 1554. By the inquisition taken after his death he possessed the following manors and lordships in the county of Norfolk:—The manors of Hameworth Parva, Framlingham, Syscland, Dykesborough, Hopham, and the hundred of Launditch; the manors of West Walton, Walpole-Hitcham, West Rudham, Castleacre, West Barsham, Systerne, Kempston, Narmanborough, Hellgaye, Bagthorpe, Heringsale, Great Massingham, Loddon, and the advowson of the church of Wells; the manors of Heringham, Stafford, Barringham, Warham, Byston, East Rudham, Barncet, Talerford, Taterset, Tittleshall, Thorp Market, Rolle, Wroxham, and Rectory; the rectories of Halvergate, Salhouse, and Kenninghall; the manors of Farsfield, Garboldesham, and the site of the monastery of Thetford; the rectories of Great Framlingham, Parringlond, St Mary's Hill,

Walton, Holkham, and Wisted; the rectory and advowsons of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St Nicholas in Thetford, and the advowsons of the vicarages of the said churches; the manors of St Mary's Hill, Tottington, Galesthorp, and 40s. 4d. rent out of the manor of Bodney, and the advowson of the vicarages thereof; the manors of Halwyke, Norwyke, Sainton, Lynford, Langford, Croxton, Walton *alias* Monk's-Wyke-in-Walton, Kilverston, Aslacton, and their several rectories and advowsons of the vicarages; the manors of Kenninghall, Ersham, Forncet, Southfield, Shelfanger, Fryers, Sherwords, Vissdelewes, site of the monastery of Boylands, site of the college of Rushworth, with the manor and rectory of Rushworth; the manors of Shadwell, Winfarthing, Haywoods, and lands called Howard's Lands in Tylney; the hundred of Gyllerosse, and half the hundred of Ersham; the rectories of Rowton, Castleacre, Walpole, Southweke, Wiggenhall, Methwold, Slewsham, East Barsham, Hitcham, Newton, and Toftrees. These lands, which the Duke calls "good and stately gear," that wily statesman on his attainder petitioned the King to have settled on the Prince of Wales, to prevent, of course, their being irrecoverably scattered among other families. He regained most of them when the attainder was removed, and died one of the wealthiest, if not the wealthiest, noble in England.

The third Duke was succeeded by his grandson, Thomas, eldest son of the beheaded Earl of Surrey. Surrey had also another son, Henry, who was restored in blood in the 1st year of Elizabeth, adhered to the Cecils, was a parasite of Carr, was created Earl of Northampton, was mixed up in the Overbury murder,

and died June 15, 1614, just in time to escape the subsequent investigation. He was an accomplished and learned scholar. Whether he was as bad a man as he is described by many writers may be doubted, but he was a fawning courtier of the bad Stuart school.

Thomas Howard, the elder brother of the Earl of Northampton, who succeeded his grandfather as fourth Duke of Norfolk, on the death of his father, the Earl of Surrey, was taken with his brother and sisters from the care of their mother, and committed to that of their aunt, the Duchess of Richmond. There seems to have been a design to educate them all strictly as Protestants, and the Duchess with this view placed them under the tuition of Foxe, of 'Book of Martyrs' renown. Their mother a few years afterwards remarried and had a family by her second husband. On the accession of Queen Mary the children were taken from Foxe's care and placed under that of White, the Catholic Bishop of Lincoln. The effect of this mixed religious training on Surrey's children was that the young Duke became a Protestant, and his brother Henry (privately) a Catholic. The Duke was already married to the Lady Mary Fitzalan, daughter and heiress of Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, a family to which the Howards were already related through the Mowbray match. By this great heiress he had a son, Philip, born in 1557, King Philip of Spain being one of his godfathers, thus as it were marking him out for a champion of the Romish faith. But the birth of his heir was purchased by the death of his wife (at Arundel House in the Strand) at the early age of sixteen, but already with the reputation of "a very learned

lady." He next married Margaret Audley, daughter and heiress of Thomas Lord Audley, of Walden, in Essex, Chancellor of England, by whom he had two sons who lived to maturity—Thomas, afterwards Earl of Suffolk, and ancestor of the Suffolk branch of the Howards; and Lord William Howard, who obtained with his wife, Elizabeth Dacre, Naworth in Cumberland, &c., and is the "Belted Will" of Scott, but known in tradition as "Bauld Wylie," the ancestor of the present Earl of Carlisle and the Howards of Corby. His second Duchess died after the birth of Lord William, and the Duke married a third time, but had no issue by this third wife, who also died before him in 1567, leaving the Duke a widower of 37 years of age. On the accession of Elizabeth he had been received into great favour by that Queen, and in the first year of her reign was elected a Knight of the Garter. He had the nominal command given him the next year of the forces sent to expel the French from Scotland, but remained at Berwick to secure it while Lord Grey of Wilton entered Scotland. He arrived, however, at the leaguer before Leith April 28, 1560, and remained till its surrender and the conclusion of peace in July following. The next year he was constituted Lieutenant-General of the North. But the death of his third wife in 1567 opened to him a new and fatal field of ambition. Mary of Scotland had consented to submit her guilt or innocence in the matter of Darnley's death to a commission to be held at York, and in September 1568, Norfolk was appointed Chief Commissioner. He was certainly at that time fully convinced of Mary's guilt;—he had never seen her, but he lent an ear to the insinuations of Maitland of Lethington, said to

proceed from the Regent Murray, of the desirability of a marriage between the Duke and the royal captive, her release, her restoration to the Crown of Scotland, and her public recognition as successor to that of England. Maitland is said as a persuasive to have assured the Duke that Mary was innocent. It is not easy to tell what object either Maitland or Murray had in this proposal, for Maitland is always Machiavellian and inscrutable beyond any other man of the age. It is conjectured by Dr Lingard that Murray's object was a merely temporary one. His return to Scotland from the conferences was threatened to be intercepted by gatherings of Mary's friends in that country on the borders and in the northern counties of England, and he wished to procure (as he did) a letter from Mary to her friends to offer no obstruction to his journey. In default of positive evidence this may be accepted as a not improbable solution. In January 1569, Murray himself saw the Duke on the subject, and sent Sir Robert Melville to Mary. But neither party seems to have entirely consented, when the sudden removal of the conferences to Westminster might have served as a warning to Norfolk that Elizabeth had her eye on the game.

On his return Norfolk was received ungraciously at Court, and, anticipating the accusation, he assured Elizabeth that no project of marriage between the Queen of Scots and himself had originated with him. The Queen then put the following question to him :— "But would you not marry the Scottish Queen if you knew that it would tend to the tranquillity of the realm and the safety of my person?" To which the Duke replied, "Madam, that woman shall never be

my wife who has been your competitor, and whose husband cannot sleep in security on his pillow." Elizabeth seemed to be satisfied with this answer, and to all outward appearance dismissed all suspicion of Norfolk and renewed her former cordiality towards him. But the Duke's evil genius did not allow him to desist after this first warning. In the spring of the same year he entered into a cabal with the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, which Leicester also joined, to remove Cecil from the counsels of the Queen. They began by absenting themselves from the Council, and when Elizabeth inquired the cause Leicester made a violent attack on Cecil. Elizabeth, however, as warmly defended him; but Cecil bent to the storm so far as to confine himself for the present more strictly to his administrative duties. Finding, however, the Queen resolved to retain him, the confederate Lords conceived a more dangerous plan. They revived the idea of a marriage between Norfolk and the Queen of Scots, and her release, hoping thus to get all the power of the Government into their hands and to be able to dictate to Elizabeth. Norfolk affected at first to dislike the idea, and then proposed first Leicester himself and then his own brother Henry as a husband for Mary, but at last he consented to come forward himself. A meeting was then held with Mary's agent and the envoy of Murray, and a joint letter written to the Scottish Queen in the names of the four English peers, proposing that she should be restored to her throne and receive a confirmation of her claim to the succession in England on the following conditions:— That she should never impugn the right of Elizabeth or of the heirs of her body; should conclude a per-

petual league, offensive and defensive, with England; should allow the Protestant religion to be established in Scotland; should receive her disobedient subjects to favour; should procure from the Duke of Anjou a renunciation of all claims she might have ceded to him; and, lastly, should consent to a marriage with the Duke of Norfolk. Mary agreed to the first five conditions, and to the last also, provided the consent of Elizabeth to the marriage were obtained. The four Lords proposed all the articles except the marriage with Norfolk in the English Council; they were assented to, and agents were sent to Scotland to secure the agreement of the two parties there. Maitland was to come to London and break the Norfolk match to Elizabeth. But Norfolk did not wait for this to enter into a regular correspondence with Mary, and to pledge himself to her deeply. A divorce was to be obtained from Bothwell, who had formally consented thereto. Cecil had been made acquainted with the plan, and replied that if Elizabeth would approve the marriage might succeed, "But I wish," he says, "myself as free from the consideration thereof as I have been from the intelligence of devising thereof." Elizabeth, however, doubtless already knew of the whole plan, as it is certain that Murray's agent had disclosed it before leaving for Scotland. The consent of the French and Spanish Courts had been obtained. But the Scotch Parliament, to whom the first five English articles were submitted by Murray with a recommendation of them, at once rejected them, as also a motion respecting a divorce from Bothwell, with such indignation that Maitland thought it advisable to take refuge among the clansmen of Atholl. A report of

the proceedings in Parliament reached Elizabeth at Farnham. She invited Norfolk to dinner, and as she rose from table advised him to beware on what pillow he should rest his head. Leicester, alarmed at this ominous remark, affected a severe illness. Elizabeth hastened to his bedside, and then with sighs and tears the Earl confessed to her his disloyalty in having without her knowledge attempted to marry her rival to one of her subjects. Leicester kept himself ill three days, and then was forgiven and recovered. Norfolk was severely reprimanded, and forbidden on his allegiance ever to entertain the project. He assented with an appearance of cheerfulness, but soon observed that whenever he came into the royal presence Elizabeth met his eye with looks of disdain and anger, that the courtiers avoided his company, and that Leicester treated him in public as an enemy. He retired from Court, promising to return within a week. From Kenninghall he wrote to Elizabeth expressing his fear that if he remained at Court he should be thrown into prison. The Queen sent him a peremptory order to return at once, new Commissioners with an armed force were ordered to secure the person of the Queen of Scots, and her apartments were searched for documents. Mary's friends afterwards said that if Norfolk had only remained a few days longer at Kenninghall he would have been joined by all the ancient nobility, and Elizabeth would have been compelled to come to terms. His friends advised him to stay, but his heart failed him, and he began his journey towards the Court. But meanwhile Murray, alarmed at the attitude of the Scotch Parliament, had sent to Elizabeth his correspondence with Norfolk, and thrown all the blame of

originating the match on the Duke, asserting that he himself assented to it for his own safety. So when Norfolk was within three miles of the Court he was arrested and committed to the Tower on the 9th of October. On hearing of this arrest the Northern Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, in the middle of November, unfurled the banners of rebellion, and issued a proclamation, in which the captivity of the Duke of Norfolk was the first alleged grievance, and on the 28th of November they began a second proclamation with these words:—"It has been faithfully and deliberately considered and devised by the high and mighty Prince Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Henry Earl of Arundel, William Earl of Pembroke, and the said Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, &c., &c., to make known the true succession to the Crown," &c. On this the Duke wrote in December from the Tower to Elizabeth, solemnly denying any complicity in the rebellion, and protested that he never meant to proceed in his marriage with Queen Mary; and notwithstanding the presumptions against his innocence he was released from the Tower in the following year, on giving a solemn promise not to correspond any more with the Queen of Scots. But in 1570 and 1571 he *did* renew his correspondence with her, pledged his faith to her, endeavoured to plan her escape from prison, sent supplies down to her friends in Scotland, and negotiated with foreign powers to land forces,—his friends say only in Scotland, but most probably wherever they would be most useful. Some of the correspondence fell into Elizabeth's hands; the Duke was again sent to the Tower in September 1571, arraigned on charges of treason in

January 1572, and condemned, but not executed till the 2d of June, Elizabeth refusing to sign the warrant till Cecil obtained a solemn address from Parliament to her to do so. After all this the great Queen can hardly be held open to much censure for this execution.

Philip Howard, eldest son of the beheaded Duke, who succeeded him in such estates as were entailed, was born in June 1557, and soon after his father's death, when about fifteen, was sent with his two brothers to Cambridge, and when eighteen resorted to Court, where (according to his Catholic biographer) he led a very dissipated and expensive life, and neglected altogether his young wife (Anne, daughter and coheiress of Thomas the last Lord Dacre of Gilsland, to whom he had been married in the latter part of 1571), as well as his grandfather, the Earl of Arundel, and that nobleman's other daughter, Lady Lumley, by which conduct he not only forfeited a great portion of the estates which he would have inherited from both these families, but involved himself in considerable debt. But one of the greatest grievances against him at this time with the Catholics was his courting assiduously the favour of Queen Elizabeth. This conduct produced some effect on the Queen, for on the death of his grandfather in 1580, by which event he inherited Arundel Castle and a part of the Fitzalan estates, he was summoned to Parliament as Earl of Arundel and restored in blood. But the Catholics had their eye on him, and in 1581 he began to waver in his Protestantism, and about two years afterwards became a Catholic. He is now said (by the same biographer) to have entirely altered his course of life,

to have become an attached and constant husband, and, as it appears, a religious enthusiast and ascetic of the deepest dye,—in fact, he fell wholly into the hands of the extreme Catholic and Jesuit party, Cardinal Allen and Father Southwell being his intimate correspondents and advisers. He is said to have brought over his brother "Belted Will" to similar opinions, and they resolved to leave England secretly in order to enjoy their new opinions more freely; but the Queen getting information of the plan, it was frustrated, and she invited herself to a banquet at Arundel House. After it was over Elizabeth gave the Earl many thanks for the entertainment, and informed him that he was a prisoner in his own house. His brother Lord William was also arrested, but after an examination they were shortly both set at liberty. Again, however, the Earl resolved to execute his plan of leaving England secretly. He accordingly set sail from Littlehampton with two attendants, but Walsingham had obtained information of his intention; he was intercepted at sea, and on April 25, 1585, by order of the Privy Council, committed to the Tower. A charge was brought against him in the Star Chamber that he had supported Romish priests contrary to law, and had held correspondence with Cardinal Allen and Parsons the Jesuit, the Queen's enemies; that he had publicly in writing questioned the justice of the kingdom; and that he had intentions of departing the realm without licence. He acknowledged the alleged correspondence, but asserted it was not treasonable, but of a wholly spiritual character,—for the rest he pleaded ignorance of the laws. He was fined £10,000 and sentenced to be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure. The

invasion of the Spanish Armada proved fatal to the noble prisoner. He caused a mass to the Holy Ghost to be said, and a course of devotions to be used for twenty-four hours together. According to his own subsequent account, these exercises were caused by a report that had reached him that there was to be a general massacre of the Catholics: according to his enemies, they were prayers for the success of the Armada. Witnesses were induced to come forward who asserted that the Earl had openly expressed his joy at the news of the invasion, and ordered the religious devotions in accordance with that feeling. Whether this was true or not, it is certain, from the account given by his Catholic biographer, that Arundel when cross-examined before the Council fenced like a dexterous Jesuit where an innocent man would have given plain answers. Whether the charges, however, were brought home to him is quite another question, and probably to be answered in the negative. He was brought from the Tower and publicly arraigned in Westminster Hall on the 14th of April 1589, was condemned for high treason, and sentence pronounced upon him. Elizabeth, however, did not execute him, but kept him close prisoner in the Tower (his wife and friends being refused admittance to him) till his death, October 19, 1595.

He left an only son, Thomas, born in 1585, who, together with his sister, about two years older, was brought up by his mother, the widowed Countess, a Roman Catholic enthusiast entirely in the hands of the Jesuits, and who spared no attention to secure them both in her own faith. The girl died at sixteen in a consumption, as devout a Catholic as her mother

could desire; but the son, though he remained a Catholic for a few years after his marriage and emancipation from his mother's control, gradully abandoned those opinions, to the great grief of that lady, who at her death, in 1630, left letters addressed to him and to her eldest surviving grandson entreating them both to embrace Catholicism. She, or rather the priests of a Jesuit establishment she had set up at Ghent, had converted the eldest grandson, Lord Maltravers, in 1624, on his deathbed. Queen Elizabeth made no attempt to take young Thomas Howard from the care of his mother, though it was sometimes talked of, and he was much countenanced by her favourite the Earl of Essex, who predicted well for his future career. On the accession of James I. he was not only restored in blood by Act of Parliament, but also to all such titles of honour and precedence as his father had lost by his attainder; and also to the honour, state, and dignity of Earl of Surrey, and to such dignity of baronies as Thomas his grandfather, fourth Duke of Norfolk, lost by his attainder. In 1606 he married Lady Alethea Talbot, third daughter and coheiress of Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury, who, on the death of her two sisters without issue, brought large possessions to her husband. In 1607 he was sworn of the Privy Council, and in the same year James I. stood godfather to his eldest son James. His health had been always sickly, and in 1609 he set out on his travels to Italy to endeavour to recruit it. During his absence his cousin Thomas, Viscount Howard of Bindon, to whom he was heir, died, but the greatest part of the Viscount's possessions were transferred to Arundel's uncle, the Earl of Suffolk, and his children. On

Arundel's return from abroad, in May 1611, he was installed as a Knight of the Garter. He and his wife accompanied the Elector Palatine and his bride as far as Heidelberg on their marriage in 1613. He then repaired again to Italy, where he devoted himself to the fine arts, — sculpture, design, painting, and architecture, with which pursuits his name will be always associated in history. He returned in November 1614. He then sent his two eldest sons on their travels to Italy,* but the elder, James, as we have said, died on his return at Ghent. The Earl inherited the family pride of his ancestor Surrey, and exhibited it in a quarrel of ceremonial with the French Ambassador, the brother of the French favourite De Luynes, whom he had been appointed to attend; and in 1621 he had the sharp words about their ancestors with Lord Spencer already related, which led to his being sent to the Tower; but he was released on making submission. He was one of three Commissioners who had temporary charge of the Great Seal on the fall of Bacon, and on August 29, 1621, was constituted Earl Marshal for life, with a pension of £2000 per annum, and revived the Earl Marshal's Court, a very arbitrary and unconstitutional tribunal; and Lord Arundel's haughty temper was held to aggravate the grievance. On December 22, 1625, he had a grant of the wardship of the body and lease of the lands of Henry Lord Stafford, the descendant of the Duke of Buckingham, during his minority, together with Lord

* His wife, the Countess Alethea, seems to have accompanied them, and to have resided with them at Venice for a long time. There is a spirited letter among the Venetian archives already referred to, addressed by her to the Doge, on the 29th of April 1622, calling on him to clear her of certain false accusations circulated against her.

Stafford's fine in the Court of Wards of 500 marks. This young nobleman died under age in 1637; and Lord Arundel having made a match between Mary Stafford, the sister of his ward, and his own fifth son, William Howard, they were on the 20th September 1640 created Baron and Baroness of Stafford, and, apparently to prevent dispute as to the precedency of the barony, William Howard was further created, November 11, 1640, Viscount Stafford. This is the unfortunate nobleman who was imprisoned as a Catholic peer in the reign of Charles II., attainted in 1678, and executed for alleged complicity in the Popish Plot, December 29, 1680. His son was made Earl of Stafford in 1688, but the title became extinct in 1762. In 1824 the attainder of 1678 was reversed, and the barony of Stafford revived in the Jerningham family, who represent the attainted nobleman through heiresses.

About a year after obtaining the wardship of Lord Stafford, the Earl of Arundel fell into disgrace at Court by contriving the marriage of his eldest surviving son, Henry Frederick Lord Maltravers, with the Lady Elizabeth Stuart, eldest daughter of Esmé, Duke of Lennox, without the knowledge of the King, who had designed her as a royal ward for Archibald, Lord Lorn, afterwards the celebrated Marquess of Argyll. The Earl and Countess of Arundel were first placed in restraint at their house at Horsley, Surrey, and afterwards committed to the Tower, and the Lord Maltravers and his young bride were put under the custody of Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury. The Earl was also heavily fined; but the House of Lords resented his arrest as a breach of privilege, and

Charles had to release him. He gradually regained the King's favour, and served on several commissions, attending the King to Scotland to his coronation, and in his plain but affectedly antique dress and stately bearing throwing into the shade all the glittering courtiers. Hay Earl of Carlisle used to say, "Here comes the Earl of Arundel in his plain stuff and trunk hose, and his beard in his teeth, that looks more like a nobleman than any of us." In 1627 he was, by Act of Parliament, created Baron Fitzalan, Lord of Clun and Oswaldestre and Maltravers, which baronies of Fitzalan and Maltravers were then annexed to the title and dignity of Earl of Arundel, and settled upon him and the heirs male of his body, with remainder to the heirs of his body, remainder to his uncle Lord William Howard and the heirs male of his body, with remainder to himself and his heirs for ever. He received the appointment of Chief Justice of the Forests North of Trent. He was also sent to condole with Elizabeth of Bohemia on the death of her husband, and seems to have formed a particular attachment to this family, being sent in 1636 as an ambassador to endeavour to procure the restitution of the Palatinate by the Emperor, and on his return he had Treasury warrants for nearly £20,000 spent by him over and above his allowance of £6 per diem. On the breaking out of the Scotch disturbances the King appointed Arundel General of the forces against the insurgents, as Clarendon says, for the negative qualification of not loving either Scots or Puritans, but he adds, Neither did he love any one else. Clarendon, it is to be observed, was prejudiced against the Earl, and in the Long Parliament was the chief mover against his

Marshal's Court. Arundel, however, did not like his position, and contrived to be ill, his dislike to Wentworth throwing his bias at this time towards the popular party. He presided at the trial of Strafford, and on June 29, 1641, presented a remonstrance and petition to be restored to the Dukedom of Norfolk, which had no immediate effect. Not loving either party in the struggle which he saw impending, the Earl resolved to quit England, and in July 1641 was appointed to conduct the Queen-mother of France abroad. He was accompanied by his wife, from whom he parted (as it proved finally) at Antwerp, and repaired again to his beloved Italy in company with his grandsons. Here he formed the celebrated collections of antiquities still known by his name. But this visit to Italy was an unhappy one to him in two respects. His eldest grandson, Thomas, became permanently affected in the brain; and his third grandson, Philip, going from him to Milan, was there converted to Catholicism by a Dominican friar, and joined that order, to the great distress of his grandfather, becoming ultimately Cardinal Howard. The Earl's sole hopes then centred in his second grandson, Henry. Arundel kept on excellent terms with both parties in the Civil Wars in England, recognised the authority and was absent *by leave* of the Parliament, and yet was created by the King, June 6, 1644, Earl of Norfolk. He died October 4, 1646, at Padua, as he was preparing to return to England, his eldest surviving son and his grandson being present.

Henry Frederick, his son and successor, had been summoned to the House of Peers March 21, 1639, as Baron Mowbray, voted against the attainder of the

Earl of Strafford, and took the King's side throughout the contest. He had a violent scene during this period with the passionate Earl of Pembroke in the Lords, which led to their both being sent for the time to the Tower. He attended the King's summons to York, and followed his fortunes (having his estate sequestrated by the Parliament) till the close of the first war. He was then summoned by his father to Padua, and on his death obtained a pass from the Parliament to come to England, where he arrived in February 1647, and, submitting himself to their pleasure, was ordered to remain in restraint in his own house in London. He was admitted to composition in November 1648, for £6000 (to be paid for the use of the Navy), in consideration of his having suffered losses by the Parliament's forces. He afterwards lived in retirement, and died at Arundel House in the Strand, April 7, 1652. He had a large family of children by his wife, from whom are descended all the succeeding Dukes of Norfolk—the eighth son, Colonel Bernard Howard, being the ancestor of the present Duke of Norfolk. We must glance very briefly at these later heads of the house of Howard. Thomas, eldest son of Henry Frederick, Earl of Arundel, having never recovered from the brain fever he was seized with in Italy, remained during his life under restraint, his next surviving brother, Henry, managing his estates. By Acts of Parliament, December 29, 1660, and December 20, 1661, the Dukedom of Norfolk was restored in the person of this Thomas (on petition of the heads of the Howard family and ninety-one other Peers), and he became fifth Duke, the limitations of the Dukedom including all the existing branches of

the family excepting the *present* Effingham line, the limitation only including the descendants of the Armada hero, and not those of his father the first Lord Howard of Effingham. The fifth Duke died unmarried at Padua, December 1, 1677, and was succeeded by his brother Henry, sixth Duke, who had been created, March 27, 1669, Baron Howard of Castle Rising, Norfolk, and October 19, 1672, Earl of Norwich and Earl Marshal of England, with limitations similar to those of the Dukedom. Grammont speaks of him as a man of slender capacity and little or no politeness in his manners. He married Lady Anne Somerset, eldest daughter of Edward, Marquess of Worcester, and had by her two sons, and by his second wife, daughter of Robert Bicheston, four sons. He died January 11, 1684, and was succeeded as seventh Duke by his eldest son, Henry, who was summoned to the Upper House in his father's lifetime, in 1678, as Lord Mowbray. He was made Knight of the Garter by James II., May 6, 1685, and in the same year Colonel of the 12th Regiment of Foot. He was a firm Protestant, however, and refused to carry the Sword of State before the King farther than the door of the Catholic chapel. "My Lord," said James, "your father would have gone farther." "Your Majesty's father," replied the Duke, "was the better man, and he would not have gone so far." He joined in inviting the Prince of Orange, and declared in his favour in Norfolk, raising a regiment which was afterwards sent over to Ireland. He also voted for settling the crown on the Prince and Princess, and on their accession was made a Privy Councillor, Constable of Windsor, Warden of the New Forest, Lord-Lieutenant

of Norfolk, Surrey, and Berkshire, &c. He was unlucky in his marriage, his wife, the daughter and sole heiress of the Earl of Peterborough, proving unfaithful, and after much trouble (the lady being supported as a Catholic and a Jacobite by a large party) he obtained a divorce from her in 1700, but did not marry again, and died April 2, 1701, without issue. He was succeeded as eighth Duke by his nephew Thomas, who also died without issue, December 23, 1732, being succeeded by his brother Edward, ninth Duke. This nobleman was residing with his Duchess at their seat at Worksop in Nottinghamshire (derived from the Talbot alliance), when the young Chevalier approached on his march to Derby; but the head of the Howards at once left the place and repaired to St James's, where he was most graciously received by King George. He died in September 1777, at the great age of ninety-three, without issue, leaving behind him memorials of his enterprise in the buildings at Worksop Manor, and Norfolk House, St James's. The former, after he had once rebuilt it at a cost of £30,000, and was about to take possession, caught fire and was burned to the ground, all its contents perishing; but the Duke calmly set to work at once to rebuild it, himself laying the foundation-stone, holding his young heir by the hand, nor did he desist from the completion of the building until the death of this heir deprived him of his chief motive. By his death the baronies of Howard, Mowbray, and other ancient baronies of the family, fell into abeyance between Lords Stourton and Petre, the rest of the peerages passing to Charles, descendant of the Hon. Charles Howard (of Greystoke, Cumberland), fourth son of Henry Frederick, Earl of Arundel,

who became tenth Duke of Norfolk, was an author, and wrote anecdotes of his own family. He died August 31, 1786, and was succeeded by his only son, Charles, eleventh Duke of Norfolk, who had sat for Carlisle in Parliament, and was a strong adherent of the Whig party, and a great personal friend of Charles James Fox. He died December 16, 1815, without issue, and was succeeded as twelfth Duke by Mr Bernard Edward Howard, of Glossop, the descendant of Colonel Bernard Howard, eighth son of Henry Frederick, Earl of Arundel. The family now became Catholic again, but the Duke dying March 16, 1842, his son and successor, Henry Charles (thirteenth Duke), afterwards avowed himself a Protestant. On his death, February 18, 1856, his son, Henry Granville Fitzalan Howard (fourteenth Duke), restored the Catholic character of the family with a zeal worthy of his ancestor Philip, Earl of Arundel, of Elizabeth's reign, whose MS. life by his chaplain he edited. He took the name of Fitzalan in addition to Howard, and died November 25, 1860, being succeeded by his son, Henry Fitzalan Howard, the present and fifteenth Duke of Norfolk, a youth in the seventeenth year of his age. The acting head of the family is his uncle, Lord Edward Howard, M.P. for Arundel. Another branch of the Glossop Howards is represented by the Howards of Greystoke, which barony had been left by Charles, Duke of Norfolk, to Henry, next brother of Bernard, twelfth Duke of Norfolk. Another brother of the same Duke is represented by the Roman Monsignor Edward Howard, ex-officer of the English Life Guards, who was sent by the present Pope to inspect

and bless the Irish Papal Brigade before their unfortunate campaign in 1860.

We must now refer briefly to the younger branches of the Howards, constituting in themselves great families, and it will be perhaps convenient to take them in chronological order of origin. The first is the Howard of Effingham branch, springing from Lord William Howard, eldest son of the hero of Flodden, by his second wife, Agnes Tylney. After having been employed by Henry VIII. in several embassies as late as the 28th year of his reign, he and his wife and mother were in the 33d year of the same reign indicted for misprision of treason for concealing what they knew of the misconduct of Queen Catherine Howard, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, but at length enlarged. He was employed by Edward VI., and was in high favour with Mary and Elizabeth till his death in 1573, being made a Knight of the Garter and Lord Admiral in the 1st of Mary, also Chamberlain of the Household, and confirmed in the office of Admiral in the 1st of Elizabeth. He was created Baron Howard of Effingham (Surrey) the 11th of March 1554. His eldest son, Charles, was the celebrated Admiral of the reign of Elizabeth, who commanded the English fleet at the time of the invasion of the Spanish Armada. He was a bold, frank sailor, impetuous and plainspoken, who chafed under the politic wariness and parsimony of Elizabeth and Burghley. He was born in 1540, and during his early life engaged in several State employments. He was returned for the county of Surrey to the Parliaments of 1563 and 1572, and commanded the

horse in the army sent against the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland on their rebellion, and had also a command at sea. He had been knighted before 1572, and in 1574 was made a Knight of the Garter and Lord Chamberlain of the Household. In 1586 he was appointed one of the Commissioners to try Mary Queen of Scots, having been constituted Lord High Admiral of England in 1584. His gallant conduct as commander against the Spanish Armada in 1588 established his reputation permanently. The Queen settled a pension on him, and he was re-appointed in 1596 to command the fleet in company with the Earl of Essex in command of the land forces. They took Cadiz, and did great damage besides to the coasts of Spain. On his return Elizabeth, on the 22d October 1596, created Lord Howard Earl of Nottingham, the second title of the Mowbrays, which had become extinct in the Berkeleys, the representatives of the younger Mowbray heiress. James I. in 1618 granted the Earl the precedence of the first Earl of Nottingham of the Mowbray family over all Earls created since. On the mad insurrection of the Earl of Essex he was sent to make him prisoner, in which he succeeded, and the same year he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the office of Earl Marshal. James I. confirmed him in his post of Lord Admiral, and he acted as Lord Steward at the coronation. He was also sent as Ambassador to Spain, and had £15,000 allowed him for his expenses. At his departure thence he received £20,000 in presents, besides a pension of 12,000 crowns to himself and 30,000 among his followers. But he was much too indiscreet a talker for such a position, and on his return he met

with a very cool reception from the King. His cousin Northampton complained of this weakness in him, which he attributed to vanity, and had a great contempt for his abilities. However, he was sufficiently in favour at the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to be appointed to attend the bride to church on the *left* side, Prince Charles walking on the *right*, and he convoyed the bride and bridegroom with his fleet to the Continent. In 1619, on account of his great age, he resigned the post of Lord Admiral. The King on that occasion remitted to him a debt of £1800, and settled a pension on him of £1000 a-year. He died at Haling House, near Croydon, December 14, 1624, aged eighty-four. Old Fuller says of him:—"An hearty gentleman, and cordial to his Sovereign, of a most proper person, one reason why Queen Elizabeth (who though she did not value a jewel *by*, valued it *the more for*, a fair case) reflected so much upon him. . . . . True it is he was no deep seaman (not to be expected from one of his extraction), but had skill enough to know those who had more skill than himself, and to follow their instructions. His place was of great profit, though great his necessary, vast his voluntary expenses, keeping (as I have read) seven standing houses at the same time,—at London, Reigate, Effingham, Blechingley, &c.,—so that the wonder is not great if he died not very wealthy." He was twice married, and the Queen and courtiers of James ridiculed the old Admiral and his young wife, his youngest son Charles being born when he was seventy-six years old. With the death of this Charles, who was the third Earl of Nottingham, and espoused the cause of the Parliament in the Civil War, the Earldom

became extinct in 1681, and the Barony of Howard of Effingham devolved on his cousin, Francis Howard, great-grandson of Sir William Howard, second son of the first Baron, and brother of the hero of the Armada. His son Francis was created Earl of Effingham, December 8, 1731; but this Earldom also became extinct in 1816, and the Barony of Howard of Effingham devolved on Kenneth Alexander Howard, descended from the next brother of the first Earl of Effingham. The Earldom of Effingham was revived in his person, January 27, 1837, and the present Earl, Henry Howard, is his son.

We must next notice the Suffolk branch of the Howards, descended from Lord Thomas Howard, eldest son of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk (executed by Elizabeth), by his *second* wife, Margaret Audley. He inherited his maternal (Audley) estates in Hertfordshire. He was summoned as Baron Howard de Walden, October 24, 1597; and July 21, 1603, created Earl of Suffolk, having been restored in blood in the 27th of Elizabeth. He was in the Armada fight, and was knighted on the occasion by his relative the Lord Admiral. He also was a brave sea-officer, and was first summoned as a Peer in reward for his services in the Cadiz expedition. In 1597 he was made a Knight of the Garter, and assisted his relative the Admiral in the capture of the Earl of Essex, and he sat on the Earl's trial, being then Constable of the Tower of London. After the accession of James he was made one of the Commissioners for the office of Earl Marshal, and Lord Chamberlain, and was one of those who discovered Guy Fawkes in the Parliament cellars. In 1613 he was constituted Chancellor of the

University of Cambridge, and on July 11, 1614, Lord High Treasurer of England. He was twice married, but had children only by his second wife, Catherine, eldest daughter and coheiress of Sir Henry Knevet, of CHARLTON in Wiltshire, the present seat of the Suffolk family. This lady was notorious for her rapacious greed for money, and to her is attributed by contemporaries the shameful embezzlements and extortions by which her husband's career was disgraced. One of his daughters, Lady Frances, was the wife of the Earl of Essex, who on her discreditable divorce from him married the favourite Rochester, and came to such ignominy with him as Countess of Somerset. After the fall of his son-in-law, the Earl of Suffolk was accused of embezzling the money paid for the delivery of the cautionary towns by the Dutch, and he was dismissed from the Treasurership, and he and his wife sent to the Tower. After an investigation he was fined £30,000, and released. Pleading inability to pay the fine, a commission was appointed to inquire into the condition of his estate; but the wily Earl evaded this by making over a great part of it to the (second) Earl of Salisbury, who had married one of his daughters, and to his brother, Lord William Howard, so that the fine got reduced to £7000. The Earl died at his house at Charing Cross (the present Northumberland House), May 28, 1626. His second son, Thomas (who inherited his mother's estate of Charlton), was created Lord Howard of Charlton (Wilts), and Viscount Andover (Hants), January 23, 1622; and Earl of Berkshire, February 7, 1626. The Earl of Suffolk's seventh son, Sir Edward Howard, Knight of the Bath, was created, April 12, 1628, Baron Howard of Escrick, the

estate of Escrick in Yorkshire having been left him by his uncle Sir Thomas Knevet. He took a very active part against the King in the Civil War, became an ardent Republican, was returned for Carlisle after the abolition of the House of Lords, and sat in the Council of State of the Commonwealth, but was detected in receiving bribes, and expelled from both Council and Parliament, and fined £10,000. He died in 1675. His eldest son, Edward, was nearly the only Englishman of position who deserted to Charles II. on his Worcester expedition, but he died before his father. His younger son, William, who became third Lord Howard of Escrick, was active against the Catholics at the time of the alleged Popish Plot in the reign of Charles II., and voted for the condemnation of his relative Lord Stafford. He afterwards turned witness against his friends Lord Russell and Algernon Sydney on their trial, the latter having a mortgage on his estate, and he being in desperate circumstances, and in danger himself of losing his head for an alleged plot. He died in 1694, and the barony expired with the death of his son and successor, Charles (who had been proceeded against, but not tried, for bigamy by the House of Lords), in 1715. The estate had been then so completely dissipated that it is said the remaining heiress, Anne, fifth child of the first Lord, who married Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle, only brought as her portion a scarlet cloth bed, still shown at Naworth Castle. James Howard, grandson of the first Earl of Suffolk, who succeeded as third Earl in 1640, espoused the cause of the Parliament, and adhered to the Presbyterian

party. On his death in 1689 without male issue, the Barony of Howard of Walden fell into abeyance between his two daughters and coheirs, and has ultimately vested in the Ellis family, Barons Seaford, in Sussex, who represent through several heiresses one of the daughters. The Suffolk earldom continued in the descendants of the eldest son of the first Earl until the death of Henry Howard, the tenth Earl, without issue in 1745. Henry, the sixth Earl, had been created Baron Chesterford and Earl of Bindon in his father's lifetime; but these titles became extinct on the death of his son, the seventh Earl of Suffolk, in 1722. On the extinction of the first line of Earls of Suffolk in 1745 the title devolved on Henry Bowes Howard, fourth Earl of Berkshire, descended from the second son of the first Earl of Suffolk. This branch had been Cavaliers in the Civil War. The present (seventeenth) Earl of Suffolk and (tenth) of Berkshire, Charles John Howard, is the descendant of Philip Howard, a younger son of the first Earl of Berkshire.

With the Carlisle and Corby branches we must conclude our outline of the Howard family history. These spring from Lord William Howard ("Belted Will" or "Bauld Wylie"), the Lord Warden of the Western Marches under James I., and Elizabeth, sister and coheiress of George, Lord Dacre of Gillesland, called "Bessie wi' the braid apron" (alluding to her possessions), whose sister was married to Lord William's brother, Philip Earl of Arundel, and from whom he obtained the Naward or Naworth Castle estate, Cumberland, and also Hinderskelle, in Yorkshire (where

stands the present CASTLE HOWARD) and Corby Castle, &c. Lord William was third son of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, and next brother to the first Earl of Suffolk. He was restored in blood in 1603, and died in August 1640. His second son, Sir Francis Howard, of CORBY CASTLE, Cumberland, was the ancestor of the present Howards of Corby. Charles Howard, grandson of Lord William's eldest son Philip, was a Colonel in the service of the Parliament during the Civil War, and became particularly attached to the fortunes of Cromwell, who summoned him as Viscount Howard to his "other House." After the downfall of the Cromwells he began to think of the restoration of Charles II., and co-operated in that event. After it was effected he was created, April 30, 1661, Baron Dacre of Gillesland (Cumberland), Viscount Howard of Morpeth (Northumberland) and Earl of Carlisle. He was also Ambassador to Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, and Governor of Jamaica, and died in 1685. The Carlisle Howards, like the Suffolk Howards, have held a respectable secondary rank in the ministries and politics of England since that time. Frederick, the fifth Earl, a man of considerable literary acquirements, had the fatal taste for gambling, and by this means, and other extravagance, very seriously injured the family position. His grandson, George William Frederick, the seventh and (now) late Earl, did much to retrieve the fortunes and restore the credit of the family, and was the recent popular Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

The adherence of the main branch to the older and unpopular form of Christianity has cut the Dukes off from active politics, and the Protestant branches have

of late years accomplished little worthy of note. Still the Howards won Flodden, and commanded against the Armada; they have been almost invariably respectable; and most Englishmen would hear with pleasure that a long minority and a great alliance had rehabilitated a house shorn of late years of much of the splendour which should accompany rank so high and so long enjoyed.

THE END.

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